THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ARTS *and* SCIENCES

OF THE

ANTIENTS.

Under the following HEADS.

THE ART MILITARY, GRAMMAR and GRAMMARIANS, PHILOLOGY and PHILOLOGERS, RHETORICK and RHETORICIANS, SOPHISTS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, *late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.*

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

Illuſtrated with Copper Plates.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in *Ludgate-Street.* MDCCXXXVII.

CONTENTS.

BOOK XXIII. Continued.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE V.

Of battles, Page 1

SECT. I. *The ſucceſs of battles principally depends upon the generals or commanders in chief,* ibid.

II. *Care to conſult the gods, and harangue the troops before a battle,* 4

III. *Manner of embatteling armies, and of engaging,* 12

IV. *Puniſhments. Rewards. Trophies. Triumphs,* 20

V. *Eſtabliſhment of the royal hoſpital of invalids at Paris,* 42

CHAPTER II.

OF SIEGES. 46

ARTICLE I.

Of antient fortification, 47

ARTICLE II.

Of the machines of war, 51

SECT. I. *The tortoiſe,* 52

II. *Catapulta. Baliſta,* 58

SECT.

SECT. III. *The ram*, 76
IV. *Moving towers*, 90

ARTICLE III.

Attack and defence of places, 102
SECT. I. *Lines of circumvallation and counter-vallation*, ibid.
II. *Approaches of the camp to the body of the place*, 109
III. *Means used in repairing breaches*, 124
IV. *Attack and defence of places by machines*, 126

CHAPTER III.

Of the navies of the antients, 133

BOOK XXIV.

Introduction, 153

CHAPTER I.

OF GRAMMARIANS, 156

ARTICLE I.

Grecian Grammarians, 164
Plato, ibid.
Epicurus, 165
Philetes. ibid.
Hecatæus, 166
Lyncæus, ibid.
Zenodotus, ibid.
Callimachus, ibid.
Ariſtophanes, ibid.
Ariſtarchus, ibid.
Crates, 168

Tyran-

Tyrannion, 169
Tyrannion, 172
Dionyſius the Thracian, ibid.
Julius Pollux, 175
Heſychius, ibid.
Suidas, John and Iſaac Tzetzes, Euſtathius, 176

ARTICLE II.

Latin Grammarians, ibid.
Aurelius Opilius, ibid.
Marcus Antonius Gniphon, 177
Attejus, ibid.
Verrius Flaccus, ibid.
Cajus Julius Hyginius, ibid.
Marcus Pomponius Marcellus, ibid.
Remmius Palæmon, ibid.
Short reflections upon the progreſs and alteration of languages, 178

CHAPTER II.

OF PHILOLOGERS, 185
Eratoſthenes, 186
Varro, 187
Aſconius Pedianus, 188
Pliny the elder, ibid.
Lucian, 197
Aulus Gellius, 204
Athenæus, 206
Julius Pollux, 207
Solinus, ibid.
Philoſtratus, 208
Macrobius, 209
Donatus, 210
Servius, ibid.
Stobæus, 211

CHAPTER III.

OF RHETORICIANS, ibid.

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Greek Rhetoricians, 213
Empedocles. Corax. Tisias, ibid.
Plato, ibid.
Aristotle, ibid.
Anaximenes, 216
Dionysius Halicarnasseus, ibid.
Hermogenes, 219
Aphthonius, 220
Longinus, ibid.
Demetrius, 222

ARTICLE II.

Of the Latin Rhetoricians, 223
L. Plotius Gallus, 227
Cicero, 233
The rhetorick to Herennius, 241
Seneca the Rhetorician, ibid.
Dialogue upon the orators, or upon the causes of the corruption of eloquence, 245
Quintilian: (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) 252
1. *What is known of Quintilian's history,* ibid.
Pliny's letter to Quintilian, 265
2. *Plan and character of Quintilian's rhetorick,* 267
3. *Method of instructing youth in Quintilian's time,* 273

CHAPTER IV.

OF SOPHISTS, 287

THE

OF THE
Liberal ARTS, and SCIENCES.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE V.

Of Battles.

IT is time to make our troops march out of their camp, whether Greeks or Romans, and to bring them into the field againſt the enemy.

SECT. I.

The ſucceſs of battles principally depends upon the generals or commanders in chief.

IT is in this view military merit appears in all its extent. To know whether a general were worthy of that name, the ancients examined the conduct he had obſerved in a battle. They did not expect ſucceſs from the number of troops, which is often a diſadvantage, but from his prudence and valour, the cauſe and aſſurance of victory. They conſidered him as the ſoul of his army, that directs all its motions, to whoſe dictates every thing obeys, and

whoſe good or bad conduct generally determines the obtaining or loſing a battle. The affairs of the Carthaginians were abſolutely deſperate, when Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian arrived. Upon the account they gave him of what had paſſed in the battle, he attributed the ill ſucceſs of it ſolely to the incapacity of their generals; and fully proved the truth of his opinion. He had brought with him neither infantry nor cavalry, but knew how to uſe both. Every thing had ſoon a new aſpect, and demonſtrated that one good head is of more value than an hundred thouſand arms. The three defeats of the Romans by Hannibal taught them the effects of a bad choice. The war with Perſeus had continued three years entire, through the ill conduct of three conſuls, that had been charged with it: Paulus Emilius terminated it glorioufly in leſs than one. It is on theſe occaſions the difference between man and man is moſt evident.

The firſt care of a general, and that which demands great force of judgment and equal prudence, is to examine whether it be proper or no to come to a battle: for both may be equally dangerous. Mardonius periſhed miſerably with his army of three hundred thouſand men, for not having followed the advice of Artabazus, which was not to give battle, and rather to uſe gold and ſilver againſt the Greeks than iron. It was contrary to the opinion of the wiſe Memnon, that Darius's generals fought the battle of the Granicus, which gave the firſt blow to the empire of the Perſians. The blind temerity of Varro, notwithſtanding his collegue's remonſtrances, and the advice of Fabius, drew upon the republick the unfortunate battle of Cannæ; whereas a

delay

delay of a few weeks would probably have ruined Hannibal for ever. Perſeus, on the contrary, let ſlip the occaſion of fighting the Romans, in not having taken the advantage of the ardor of his army, and attacked them inſtantly after the defeat of their horſe, which had thrown their troops into diſorder and conſternation. Cæſar had been loſt after the battle of Dyrrachium, if Pompey had known how to improve his advantage. Great enterprizes have their deciſive moments. The important lies in wiſely reſolving what to chuſe, and in ſeizing the preſent occaſion, that never returns * when once neglected: and in this the whole depends upon the general's prudence. † There is a diſtribution of cares and duties in an army. The head decrees, the arms execute. ‖ *Think only*, ſays Otho to his ſoldiers, *of your arms, and of fighting with bravery, and leave the care of taking good meaſures, and directing your valour aright, to me.*

* Si in occaſionis momento, cujus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paulum fueris, nequicquam mox amiſſam quæras. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 38.

* Diviſa inter exercitum, ducesque munia. Militibus cupido pugnandi convenit: duces providendo, conſultando proſunt. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 3. c. 20.

‖ Vobis arma & animus ſit, mihi conſilium & virtutis veſtræ regimen relinquite. *Ib.* l. 1. c. 84.

SECT. V.

Care to conſult the gods and harangue the troops before a battle.

THE moment before a battle, the ancients believed themſelves the moſt obliged to conſult the gods, and to incline them in their favour. They conſulted them either by the flight or ſinging of birds, by the inſpection of the entrails of victims, by the manner in which the ſacred chickens pecked their corn, and by things of the like nature. They laboured to render them propitious by ſacrifices, vows, and prayers. Many of the generals, eſpecially in the earlier times, diſcharged theſe duties with great ſolemnity and ſentiments of religion, which they carried ſometimes to a puerile and ridiculous ſuperſtition: others either deſpiſed them in their hearts, or openly made a jeſt of them; and people did not fail to aſcribe the misfortunes, which their ignorance or temerity drew upon them, to that irreligious contempt. Never did prince expreſs more reverence for the gods than Cyrus the Great. When he was marching to charge Crœſus, he ſung the hymn of battle aloud, to which the whole army replied with great cries, invoking the god of war. Paulus Emilius, before he gave Perſeus battle, ſacrificed twenty oxen ſucceſſively to Hercules, without finding any favourable ſign in all thoſe victims: it was not till the one and twentieth that he believed he ſaw ſomething which promiſed him the victory. There are alſo examples of a different kind. Epaminondas, no leſs brave, though not ſo ſuperſtitious as Paulus Emilius, finding himſelf oppoſed in giving

giving battle at Leuctra upon account of bad omens, replied by a verſe of Homer's, of which the ſenſe is: *The only good omen is, to fight for one's country.* A Roman conſul, who was fully determined to fight the enemy aſſoon as he came up with them, kept himſelf cloſe ſhut up within his litter, during his march, to prevent any bad omen from fruſtrating his deſign. Another did more: Seeing that the chickens would not eat, he threw them into the ſea, ſaying, *If they won't eat, let them drink.* Such examples of irreligion were uncommon, and the contrary opinion prevailed. There was without doubt ſuperſtition in many of theſe ceremonies: but the ſacrifices, vows, and prayers, which always preceded battles, were proofs, that they expected ſucceſs from the divinity, who alone diſpoſed of it.

After having paid theſe duties to the gods, they applied themſelves to men, and the general exhorted his ſoldiers. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with all nations to harangue their troops before battle; which cuſtom was very reaſonable, and might contribute very much to the victory. It is certainly right, when an army is upon the point of marching againſt the enemy in order to engage, to oppoſe the fear of a ſeemingly approaching death with the moſt powerful reaſons, and ſuch as, if not capable of totally extinguiſhing that fear ſo deeply implanted in our nature, may at leaſt combat and overcome it: Such reaſons, as the love of our country, the obligation to defend it at the price of our blood, the remembrance of paſt victories, the neceſſity of ſupporting the glory of our nation, the injuſtice of a violent and cruel enemy, the dangers to which

the fathers, mothers, wives, and children, of the ſoldiers, are expoſed: Theſe motives, I ſay, and many of the like nature, repreſented from the mouth of a general, beloved and reſpected by his troops, may make a very ſtrong impreſſion upon their minds. Military eloquence conſiſts leſs in words, than in a certain eaſy and engaging air of authority, that at once adviſes and commands; and ſtill more in the ineſtimable advantage of being beloved by the troops, *which might ſupply its place if wanted.

Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 3. p. 84.

It is not, as Cyrus obſerves, that ſuch diſcourſes can in an inſtant change the diſpoſition of ſoldiers, and from timorous and abject, as they might be, make them immediately bold and intrepid: but they awaken, they rouze the courage nature has before given them, and add a new force and vivacity to it.

To judge rightly of the cuſtom of haranguing the troops, as generally and conſtantly practiſed by the antients, we muſt go back to the ages wherein they lived, and conſider their manners and cuſtoms with particular attention.

The armies of the Greeks and Romans were compoſed of the ſame citizens, to whom, in the city and in time of peace, it was cuſtomary to communicate all the affairs of the ſtate. The general did no more in the camp, or in the field of battle, than he would have been obliged to do in the *Roſtrum* or tribunal of harangues. He did his troops honour, and attracted their confidence and affection, in imparting to them his deſigns, motives, and mea-

* Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. *Tacit. in Agricol.* c. 16.

ſures.

ſures. By that means he intereſted the ſoldier in the ſucceſs. The ſight only of the generals, officers, and ſoldiers aſſembled, communicated a reciprocal courage and ardour to them all. Every one piqued himſelf at that time upon the goodneſs of his aſpect and appearance, and obliged his neighbour to do the ſame. The fear of ſome was abated or entirely baniſhed by the valour of others. The diſpoſition of particular perſons became that of the whole body, and gave affairs their aſpect.

There were occaſions when it was moſt neceſſary to excite the good will and zeal of the ſoldier: for inſtance, when a difficult and haſty march was to be made, to extricate the army out of a dangerous ſituation, or to obtain one more commodious: when courage, patience, and conſtancy, were neceſſary for ſupporting famine and other violent diſtreſſes, conditions painful to nature: when ſome difficult, dangerous, but very important enterprize was to be undertaken: when it was neceſſary to conſole, encourage, and re-animate the troops after a defeat: when an hazardous retreat was to be made in view of the enemy in a country he was maſter of: and laſtly, when only a generous effort was wanting to terminate a war, or ſome important enterprize.

Upon theſe and the like occaſions the generals never failed to ſpeak in publick to the army in order to ſound their diſpoſition by their acclamations, more or leſs ſtrong, to inform them of their reaſons for ſuch and ſuch conduct, and to conciliate them to it; to diſpel the falſe reports which exaggerated difficulties, and diſcouraged them; to let them ſee the remedies preparing for the diſtreſſes they were under, and the ſucceſs to be expected from

them; to explain the precautions it was neceſſary to take, and the motives for taking them. It was the general's intereſt to flatter the ſoldier in making him the confident of his deſigns, fears, and expedients, in order to engage him to ſhare in them, and act in concert and from the ſame motives with himſelf. The general in the midſt of ſoldiers, who as well as himſelf were all not only members of the ſtate, but had a ſhare in the authority of the government, conſidered him as a father in the midſt of his family.

It may not be eaſy to conceive how he could make himſelf heard by the troops, but that difficulty will vaniſh if we remember, that the armies of the Greeks and Romans were not very numerous. Thoſe of the former ſeldom exceeding ten or twelve thouſand men, and of the latter, very rarely twice that number; I do not ſpeak of the later times. The generals were heard, as the orators were in the publick aſſembles, or from the tribunal for harangues. All people did not hear: but however the whole people were informed at Rome and Athens; the whole people deliberated and decided, and none of them complained of not having heard. It ſufficed, that the moſt ancient, the moſt conſiderable, the principals of companies and quarters were preſent at the harangue, of which they afterwards gave an account to the reſt.

On the column of Trajan, the emperor is ſeen haranguing the troops from a tribunal of turf raiſed higher than the ſoldier's heads, with the principal officers around him upon the platform, and the multitude forming a circle at a diſtance. One would not believe in how little room a great number of unarmed men will

ſtand

ſtand upright, when they preſs cloſe to each other; and theſe harangues were uſually made in the camp to the ſoldiers quiet and unarm'd. Beſides which, they accuſtomed themſelves from their youth to ſpeak upon occaſion with a ſtrong and diſtinct voice.

When the armies were more numerous, and upon the point of giving battle, they had a very ſimple and natural manner of haranguing the troops. The general on horſeback rode thro' the ranks, and ſpoke ſomething to the ſeveral bodies of troops in order to animate them. * Alexander did ſo at the battle of Iſſus, and Darius almoſt the ſame at that of † Arbela, though in a different manner. He harangued his troops from his chariot, directing his looks and geſture to the officers and ſoldiers that ſurrounded him. Without doubt, neither the one nor the other could be heard by any but thoſe who were neareſt them: but theſe ſoon tranſferred the ſubſtance of their diſcourſes to the reſt of the army.

Juſtin, who abridged Trogus Pompejus, an excellent hiſtorian that lived in the time of Auguſtus, repeats an entire harangue, which his author had put into the mouth of Mithridates. It is very long, which ought not to ſeem ſurprizing, becauſe Mithridates does not make it juſt before a battle, but only to animate his troops againſt the Romans, whom he had before overthrown in ſeveral battles, and intended to attack again. His army conſiſted of al- Juſtin. l. 38 c. 4—7.

* Alexander ante prima ſigna ibat.—Cumque agmen obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cujuſque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. *Q. Curt.* l. 3. c. 10.

† Darius ſicut curru eminebat, dextra lævaque ad circumſtantium agmina oculos manuſque circumferens, &c. *Q. Curt.* l. 4. c. 14.

moſt

moſt three hundred thouſand men of two and twenty different nations, who had each their peculiar language, all which Mithridates could ſpeak, and therefore had no occaſion for interpreters to explain his diſcourſe to them. Juſtin, where he repeats the ſpeech in queſtion, barely ſays, that Mithridates called an aſſembly of his ſoldiers: *Ad conſcionem milites vocat.* But what did he do to make two and twenty nations underſtand him? Did he repeat to each of them the whole diſcourſe quoted by Juſtin? That is improbable. It were to be wiſhed, that the hiſtorian had explained himſelf more clearly, and given us ſome light upon this head. Perhaps he contented himſelf with ſpeaking to his own nation, and making known his views and deſigns to the reſt by interpreters.

Liv. l. 30. n. 33. Hannibal acted in this manner. When he was going to give Scipio battle in Africa, he thought it incumbent on him to exhort his troops: and as every thing was different amongſt them, language, cuſtoms, laws, arms, habits, and intereſts, ſo he made uſe of different motives to animate them.

" To the auxiliary troops, he propoſed an " immediate reward, and an augmentation of " their pay out of the booty that ſhould be " taken. He enflamed the peculiar and natu- " ral hatred of the Gauls againſt the Romans: " As for the Ligurians, who inhabited a moun- " tainous and barren country, he ſet before " them the fertile valleys of Italy, as the fruit " of their victory. He repreſented to the " Moors and Numidians the cruel and violent " government of Maſſiniſſa, to which they " would be ſubjected, if overcome. In this " manner he animated theſe different nations,

" by

" by the different views of hope and fear. * As " to the Carthaginians, he omitted nothing that " might excite their valour, and addreſſed " himſelf to them in the warmeſt and moſt " pathetick terms: the danger of their coun- " try, their houſhold gods, the tombs of their " anceſtors, the terror and conſternation of " their fathers and mothers, their wives and " children; in fine, the fate of Carthage, " which the event of that battle would either " ruin and reduce into perpetual ſlavery, or " render miſtreſs of the univerſe; every thing " being extreme which ſhe had either to hope " or fear." This is a very fine diſcourſe. But how did he make theſe different nations underſtand it? Livy informs us: He ſpoke to the Carthaginians himſelf, and ordered the commanders of each nation to repeat to them what he had ſaid.

In this manner, the general ſometime aſſembled the officers of his army, and after having explained what he deſired the troops might be told, he ſent them back to their ſeveral brigades or companies, in order to report what they had heard, and animate them for the battle. Arrian obſerves this in particular of Alexander the great before the famous battle of Arbela, Arrian. l. 3. p 117.

* Carthaginienſibus mœnia patriæ, dii penates, ſepulcra majorum, liberi cum parentibus, conjugeſque pavidæ, aut excidium ſervitiumque, aut imperium orbis terrarum; nihil aut in metum aut in ſpem medium oſtentatur.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Manner of embatteling armies, and of engaging.

THE manner of drawing up armies in battle, was not always alike with the ancients, and could not be ſo, becauſe it depends on circumſtances that vary perpetually, and conſequently require different diſpoſitions. The infantry were generally poſted in the centre, in one or more lines, and the horſe upon the wings.

Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. 6. p. 158, &c.

At the battle of Thymbræa, all the troops of Cræſus, as well horſe as foot, were drawn up in one line thirty men deep, except the Egyptians, who amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men. They were divided into twelve large bodies or ſquare battalions, of ten thouſand men each, an hundred in front, and as many in depth. Crœſus with all his endeavours could not make them change this order, to which they were accuſtomed: this rendered the greateſt part of thoſe troops uſeleſs, who were the beſt in the army, and did not a little contribute to the loſs of the battle. The Perſians generally fought fourſcore deep. Cyrus, to whom it was of great importance to extend his front as far as poſſible, in order to prevent being ſurrounded by the enemy, reduced his files to twelve deep only. The reader knows the event of this battle.

Xenoph. hiſt. l. 6. p. 596, &c.

In the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians who had of their own troops and their allies, four and twenty thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, were drawn up twelve deep; and the Thebans fifty, though not above ſix thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe. This

ſeems

ſeems contrary to rules. The deſign of Epaminondas was to fall directly with the whole weight of his heavy battalion upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, well aſſured, that if he could break that, the reſt of the army would be ſoon put to the rout: And the effect anſwered the deſign.

I have deſcribed elſewhere the Macedonian phalanx, ſo famous amongſt the ancients. It was generally divided, according to Polybius, into ten battalions, each conſiſting of ſixteen hundred men, an hundred in front, and ſixteen deep. Sometimes the latter number were doubled, or reduced to eight, according to the exigency of the occaſion. The ſame Polybius makes a ſquadron conſiſt of eight hundred horſe, generally drawn up an hundred in front and eight in depth: he ſpeaks of the Perſian cavalry.

Vol. VI. p. 29, &c. Polyb. l. 17. p. 764, 767. Id. l. 12. p. 664.

As to the Romans, their cuſtom of drawing up their infantry in three lines continued long, and with uniformity enough. Amongſt other examples, that of the battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal may ſuffice to give us a juſt idea of the manner in which the Romans and Carthaginians embattled their troops.

Scipio placed the *Haſtati* (or pikes) in the front line, leaving ſpaces between the cohorts. In the ſecond he poſted the *Principes*, with their cohorts not fronting the ſpaces of the firſt line, as was uſual with the Romans, but behind the cohorts of the *Haſtati*, leaving ſpaces directly oppoſite to thoſe of the front line; and this becauſe of the great number of elephants in the enemy's army, to which Scipio thought proper to leave free paſſage. The *Triarii* compoſed the third line, and were a kind of corps de reſerve. The cavalry were diſtributed

buted upon the two wings; that of Italy upon the left commanded by Lælius, and the Numidians upon the right under Maſſiniſſa. Into the ſpaces of the firſt line he threw the light arm'd troops, with orders to begin the battle; in ſuch a manner, however, that in caſe they were repulſed, or not able to ſupport the charge of the elephants, they ſhould retire, thoſe who ran beſt, behind the whole army through the direct intervals, and thoſe who ſhould find themſelves ſurrounded, through ſuch openings as might be on the right or left.

As to the other army, more than fourſcore elephants covered it in front. Behind them Hannibal poſted the foreign mercenaries, to the number of about twelve thouſand Ligurians, Gauls, Balearians, and Moors: behind this firſt line, were the Africans and Carthaginians. Theſe were the flower of his army, with which he intended to fall upon the enemy, when fatigued and weakened by the battle: and in the third line, which he removed to the diſtance of more than an hundred paces from the ſecond, were the troops he had brought with him from Italy, on whom he could not rely, becauſe they had been forced from their country, and he did not know whether he ought to conſider them as allies or enemies. On the left wing he placed the cavalry of the Numidian allies, and on the right, that of the Carthaginians.

More than a ſtadium.

I could wiſh that Polybius or Livy had informed us what number of troops there were on each ſide, and what depth the generals had given them in drawing them up. In the battle of Cannæ ſome years before this, there is no mention of the *Haſtati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, that generally compoſed the three lines of the Roman

man armies. Livy, without doubt, ſuppoſes it a cuſtom known to all the world.

It was uſual enough, eſpecially with ſome nations, to raiſe great cries, and to ſtrike their ſwords againſt their bucklers, as they advanced to charge an enemy. This noiſe, joined to that of the trumpets, was very proper to ſuppreſs in them, by a kind of ſtupefaction, all fear of danger, and to inſpire them with a courage and boldneſs, that had no view but victory, and defied death.

The troops ſometimes marched ſoftly and cooly to the charge: and ſometimes, when they approached the enemy, they ſprung forwards with impetuoſity as faſt as they could move. Great men have been divided in opinion upon theſe different methods of attacking. On the day of the battle of Thermopylæ, Xerxes's ſpy found the Spartans preparing to engage only by combing their hair. Never was danger however more great. This bravado ſuited only ſoldiers determined like them to conquer or die: beſides which, it was their uſual cuſtom. Her. l. 7. c. 208.

The light-armed troops generally began the action by a flight of darts, arrows, and ſtones, either againſt the elephants, if there were any, or againſt the horſe or infantry, to put them into diſorder; after which they retired through the ſpaces behind the firſt line, from whence they continued their diſcharges over the ſoldiers heads.

The Romans began a battle by throwing their javelins againſt the enemy, after which they came to blows with them; and it was then their valour was ſhewn, and great ſlaughter enſued.

When

When they had broke the enemy and put them to flight, the great danger was, as it ſtill is, to purſue them with too much ardor, without regard to what paſſed in the reſt of the army. We have ſeen that the loſs of moſt battles proceeds from this fault, the more to be feared, as it ſeems the effect of valour and bravery. Lælius and Maſſiniſſa, in the battle of Zama, after having broke the enemy and put them to flight, did not abandon themſelves to ſo imprudent an ardour; but returning immediately from the purſuit, rejoined the main body, and falling upon Hannibal's rear, put the greateſt part of his phalanx to the ſword.

Lycurgus had decreed, that after having purſued the enemy enough to ſecure the victory, the purſuit ſhould ceaſe; and that for two reaſons: The firſt, becauſe as the war was made between Greeks and Greeks, humanity required, that they ſhould not act with the greateſt extremity againſt neighbouring people, in ſome ſort their countrymen, who profeſſed themſelves vanquiſhed by their flight. And the ſecond, becauſe the enemy, relying upon this cuſtom, would be inclined to preſerve their lives by retreating, rather than perſiſt obſtinately in a battle, during which they knew they had no quarter to expect.

The attack of an army by the flanks and rear muſt be very advantagious, as in moſt battles it is generally attended with victory. Hence we ſee in all battles, that the principal care of the moſt able generals is to provide againſt this danger.

It is ſurprizing, that the Romans had ſo few cavalry in their armies; three hundred horſe to four or five thouſand foot. It is true, they made

made an excellent uſe of thoſe they had. Sometimes they diſmounted and fought on foot, their horſes being trained to ſtand ſtill in the mean while. Sometimes they carried light-armed ſoldiers behind them, who got off and remounted with wonderful agility. Sometimes the horſe charged the enemy on the full gallop, who could not ſupport ſo violent an attack. But however all this amounted to no great ſervice; and we have ſeen Hannibal indebted for his ſuperiority in his four firſt battles chiefly to his cavalry.

Liv. l. 3. n. 62.
Id. l. 26. n. 4.
Id. l. 8. n. 30.

The Romans had made war at firſt upon their neighbours, whoſe country was woody, full of vineyards and olive-trees, and ſituate near the Appennine mountains, where the horſe had little room to act or draw up. The neighbouring people had the ſame reaſon for not keeping much cavalry on foot; and hence it became the cuſtom on both ſides to have little. The Roman legion was eſtabliſhed upon the foot of three hundred horſe, the allies furniſhing twice that number; which cuſtom in ſucceeding times had the force of a law.

The army of the Perſians had no cavalry, when Cyrus firſt had the command of it. He ſoon perceived the want of it, and in a very ſhort time raiſed a great body of horſe, to which he was principally indebted for his conqueſts. The Romans were obliged to do the ſame, when they turned their arms againſt the Eaſt, and had to deal with nations, whoſe principal force conſiſted in cavalry. Hannibal had taught them what uſe they were to make of it.

I do not find any mention made of hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded in the armies of the

ancients. No doubt they took care of them. Homer ſpeaks of ſeveral illuſtrious phyſicians in the army of the Greeks at the ſiege of Troy; and we know that they acted as ſurgeons. Cyrus the younger, in the army with which he marched to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, did not omit to carry with him a conſiderable number of able phyſicians. Cæſar tells us in more than one paſſage of his Commentaries, that after a battle, the wounded were carried into the neareſt neighbouring city. There are many inſtances of generals going to viſit the wounded in their tents: which is a proof, that in quarters, where ſeven or eight comrades, citizens of the ſame diſtrict of the ſame city, lay, the ſoldiers took care of one another, when wounded.

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. p. 29.

Livy often mentions the *Cartel*, or agreement between nations at war for the ranſom of priſoners. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, having made himſelf maſter of the ſmall camp of the Romans, agreed to reſtore each Roman citizen for three hundred pieces of money called *quadrigati*, which were *denarii*: that is, for about ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres; the allies for two hundred; and the ſlaves for one. The Romans, when they took Eretria, a city of Eubœa, where the Macedonians had a garriſon, fixed the price of their ranſom at three hundred pieces of money alſo, that is to ſay, at ſeven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres. Hannibal, ſeeing the Romans were determined not to ranſom their priſoners who had ſurrendered themſelves to him, ſold them to different nations. The Achæans bought a conſiderable number of them.

Liv. l. 22. n. 52.

Id. l. 32. n. 17.

Id. l. 34. n. 49.

them. When the Romans had re-eſtabliſhed the liberty of Greece, the Achæans, out of gratitude, ſent home all theſe priſoners, and paid their maſters five denarii per head, that is to ſay, two hundred and fifty livres; the total of which, according to Polybius, amounted to an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns: for in Achaia, there were twelve hundred of thoſe priſoners.

I do not believe, that the uſe of writing in cyphers was known to the ancients. It is however very neceſſary, for conveying ſecret advices to officers, either remote from the army, or ſhut up in a city, or on other important occaſions. Whilſt Q. Cicero was beſieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæſar wrote him advice, that he was marching to his relief with ſeveral legions, and ſhould ſoon arrive. The letter * was wrote in Greek, that if it fell into the enemy's hands, they might not know that Cæſar advanced. That precaution does not ſeem ſufficiently certain; nor are ſignals, which I have treated elſewhere, much more ſo: beſides which, the uſe of them was very difficult, and at the ſame time perplexing and full of obſcurity.

Cæſ. Bell. Gall. l. 5.

I ſhall relate a common and very remarkable cuſtom amongſt the Romans. That was, when they were drawn up in line of battle, and ready to take their ſhields, and gird their robes cloſe to their bodies, to make their wills without writing, by only appointing their heir

Plut. in Cornel. P. 217.

* Epiſtolam Græcis conſcriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epiſtola, noſtra ab hoſtibus conſilia cognoſcentur.

before three or four witneſſes. This was termed *teſtamenta in procinctu facere.*

After the little I have ſaid upon battles, not daring to engage myſelf farther in a ſubject ſo much out of my ſphere, I proceed to the rewards and puniſhments conſequential of good or bad ſucceſs in battle.

SECT. IV.

Puniſhments. Rewards. Trophies. Triumphs.

SOLON had reaſon to ſay, that the two great ſprings of human actions, and what principally ſet mankind in motion, are hope and fear; and that a good government cannot ſubſiſt without rewards and puniſhments; becauſe impunity emboldens guilt; and virtue, when neglected and undiſtinguiſhed, frequently becomes languid and declines. This maxim is ſtill truer, eſpecially with regard to military government, which, as it gives greater ſcope to licence, requires alſo, that order and diſcipline ſhould be annexed to it by ties of a ſtronger and more vigorous nature.

It is true, this rule may be abuſed and carried too far, particularly in point of puniſhment. With the Carthaginians, the generals, who had been unfortunate in war, were generally puniſhed with death; as if want of ſucceſs were a crime, and the moſt excellent captain might not loſe a battle without any fault on his ſide. They carried their rigour much farther. * For they condemned him to death,

* Apud Carthaginienſes in crucem tolli imperatotes dicuntur, ſi proſpero eventu pravo conſilio, rem geſſerunt. *Liv.* l. 38. n. 48.

who

who had taken bad meaſures, though ſucceſsful. Amongſt the * Gauls, when troops were to be raiſed, all the young men capable of bearing arms were obliged to be preſent at the aſſembly on a certain day. He who came laſt was condemned to die, and executed with the moſt cruel torments. What an horrid barbarity was this!

The Greeks, though very ſevere in ſupporting military diſcipline, were more humane. At Athens, the refuſal to bear arms, which is far more criminal than a delay of a few hours or moments, was only puniſhed by a publick interdiction and a kind of excommunication, which excluded the perſon from entering the aſſemblies of the people, and the temples of the gods. But to throw a away his ſhield in order to fly, to quit his poſt, or be a deſerter, were capital crimes, and puniſhed with death. Æſchin in Cteſiph. p. 457.

At Sparta it was an inviolable law never to fly, however ſuperior the enemy's army might be in number, never to abandon a poſt, nor ſurrender their arms. Thoſe who had failed in theſe points, were declared infamous for ever. They were not only excluded from all offices, employments, aſſemblies, and publick ſhews; but it was ſcandalous to ally with them in marriage, and a thouſand inſults were offered them in publick with impunity. On the contrary, great honours were paid to ſuch as had behaved themſelves valiantly in bat- Her. l. 7. c. 104.

* Hoc, more Gallorum, eſt initium belli, quo, lege communi, omnes pulieres armati convenire coguntur; &, qui ex eis noviſſimus venit in conſpectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. *Caſ. de Bell. Gall.* l. 5.

tle, or had died ſword in hand in the defence of their country.

Greece abounded with ſtatues of the great men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battles. Their tombs were adorned with magnificent inſcriptions, which perpetuated their names and memories. The cuſtom of the Athenians in this point was of wonderful efficacy to animate the courage of their citizens, and inſpire them with ſentiments of honour and glory. After a battle, the laſt duties were publickly rendered to thoſe who had been ſlain. The bones of the dead were expoſed for three days ſucceſſively to the veneration of the people, who thronged to throw flowers upon them, and to burn incenſe and perfumes before them. After which, thoſe bones were carried in pomp, in as many coffins as there were tribes in Athens, to the place particularly allotted for their interment. The whole people attended this religious ceremony. The proceſſion had ſomething very auguſt and majeſtick in it, and rather reſembled a glorious triumph, than a funeral ſolemnity.

Thucyd. l. 2 p. 121.

Some days after, which far exceeds what I have juſt ſaid, one of the beſt qualified Athenians pronounced the funeral oration of thoſe illuſtrious dead before the whole people. The great Pericles was charged with this commiſſion after the firſt campaign of the Peloponneſian war. Thucydides has preſerved his diſcourſe, and there is another upon the ſame ſubject in Plato. The intent of this funeral oration was to extol the courage of thoſe generous ſoldiers who had ſhed their blood for their country; to inculcate the imitation of their example

example to the citizens, and eſpecially to conſole their families. Theſe were exhorted to moderate their grief by reflecting on the glory their relations had acquired for ever. "You "have never, ſays the orator to the fathers and "mothers, prayed to the gods, that your "children ſhould be exempt from the com-"mon law, which dooms all mankind to die; "but only that they ſhould prove perſons of vir-"tue and honour. Your vows are heard, and "the glory with which you ſee them crowned, "ought to dry your eyes, and change your "laments into thankſgiving." The orators often, by a figure common enough with them, eſpecially upon great occaſions, put theſe lively exhortations into the mouths of the dead themſelves, who ſeemed to quit their tombs to cheer and conſole their fathers and mothers.

They did not not confine themſelves to bare diſcourſe, and barren praiſes. The republick, as a tender and compaſſionate mother, took upon herſelf the charge of maintaining and ſubſiſting the old men, widows, and orphans, who ſtood in need of her ſupport. The latter were brought up ſuitably to their condition, till they were of age to carry arms: and then publickly, in the theatre, and in the preſence of the whole people, they were dreſt in a compleat ſuit of armour, which was given them, and declared ſoldiers of the republick.

Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 452, 453.

Was there any thing wanting to the funeral pomp I now ſpeak of, and did it not ſeem in ſome meaſure to transform the poor ſoldiers and common burghers of Athens into heroes and conquerors? Have the honours rendered amongſt us to the moſt illuſtrious generals, any

thing more animated and affecting? It was by theſe means that courage, greatneſs of ſoul, ardour for glory, and that zeal and devotion for their country, which rendered the Greeks inſenſible to the greateſt dangers and death itſelf, were perpetuated amongſt them. For, as Thucydides * obſerves upon occaſion of theſe funeral honours, *Great men are formed, where merit is beſt rewarded.*

The Romans were neither leſs exact in puniſhing offences againſt military diſcipline, nor leſs attentive in rewarding merit.

The puniſhment was proportioned to the crime, and did not always extend to death. Sometimes a word of contempt ſufficed for the puniſhment of the troops: at others, the general puniſhed them by refuſing them their ſhare in the ſpoils. Sometimes they were diſmiſſed, and not permitted to ſerve againſt the enemy. It was common enough to make them work in the intrenchments of the camp in a ſingle tunick and without a belt. Ignominy was often more affecting than death itſelf. Cæſar's mutinous troops demanded to be diſmiſſed with ſeditious complaints. † Cæſar ſaid only one word to them, which was, *Quirites*, as much as to ſay, citizens, whereas he uſed to call them, *Fellow-ſoldiers* or *comrades*; and immediately diſcharged them. That word was like a ſtroke of thunder to them. They believed themſelves degraded and entirely diſhonoured; and never ceaſed importuning him in

Dion. Caſſ. l. 42. p. 210.

* Ἄλλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετὴς μεγίστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύεσι.

† Divus Julius ſeditionem exercitus verbo uno compeſcuit, *Quirites*, vocando qui ſacramentum ejus detrectabant. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 1. c. 41.

the

the moſt humble and pathetic terms, till he conſented, as the greateſt of favours, that they ſhould continue to carrry arms for him. This puniſhment, whereby the ſoldiers were broke, was called *exauctoratio*.

The Roman army, through the fault of the conſul Minucius, who commanded it, was beſieged in their camp by the Æqui, and very near being taken. Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for this expedition, marched to his aid, delivered him, and made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, which abounded with riches. He puniſhed the conſul's troops by giving them no ſhare of the booty, and obliged Minucius to quit the conſulſhip, and to ſerve in the army as his lieutenant, which he did without complaint or murmur: "† In thoſe times, "obſerves the hiſtorian, people ſubmitted "with ſo much complacency to the perſons in "whom they ſaw a ſuperiority of merit joined "with authority, that this army, more ſenſi-"ble of the benefit, than ignominy they had "received, decreed the dictator a crown of "gold of a pound weight, and on his departure "ſaluted him their patron and preſerver." Liv. l. 3. n. 29.

After the battle of Cannæ, wherein more than forty thouſand Romans were left upon the ſpot, about ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, who were in the two camps, ſeeing themſelves without reſource or hope, ſurrendered themſelves and their arms to the enemy, and were made pri- Liv. l. 22. n. 50 - 60

* Adeo tam imperio meliori animas manſuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominiæ hic exercitus memor & coronam auream dictatori libræ pondo decreverit, & proficiſcentem eum patronum ſalutaverit. *Liv.*

ſoners.

ſoners. Ten thouſand, who had fled as well as Varro, eſcaped by different ways, and at length rejoined each other at Canuſium under the conſul. Whatever inſtances theſe priſoners, and their relations could make afterwards to obtain their ranſom, and how great ſoever the want of ſoldiers then was at Rome, the ſenate could never reſolve to redeem ſoldiers, who had been ſo baſe as to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy, and whom more than forty thouſand men killed before their eyes, could not inſpire with the courage to die in the field for their country. The other ten thouſand, who had eſcaped by flight, were baniſhed into Sicily, and their return prohibited as long as the war with the Carthaginians ſhould continue. They demanded with earneſt entreaties to be led on againſt the enemy, and that they might have an opportunity to expiate with their blood the ignominy of their flight. The ſenate remained inflexible, not believing that they could confide the defence of the republick to ſoldiers, who had abandoned their companions in battle. At length, upon the remonſtances and warm ſollicitations of the proconſul Marcellus, their demand was granted; but upon condition, that they ſhould not ſet foot in Italy as long as the enemy ſhould remain in it. All the knights of the army of Cannæ, baniſhed into Sicily, were alſo ſeverely puniſhed. In the firſt review made by the cenſors after that battle, all the horſes with which the republick furniſhed them, were taken away; which implied their being degraded from the rank of Roman knights: their former years of ſervice were declared void, and that they ſhould be obliged

Liv. l. 23. n. 25.

Id. l. 27. n. 11.

to

to ſerve ten more, ſupplying themſelves with horſes; that is to ſay, as many years as if they had never ſerved at all: for the knights were not obliged to ſerve more than ten campaigns.

The ſenate, rather than ranſom the priſoners, which would have coſt leſs, choſe rather to arm eight thouſand ſlaves; to whom they promiſed liberty, if they behaved themſelves valiantly. They had ſerved almoſt two years with great bravery: their liberty however was not yet arrived, and with whatever ardour they deſired it *, they choſe rather to deſerve than demand it. An important occaſion aroſe, in which it was pointed out to them as the reward of their valour. They did wonders in the battle, except four thouſand of them, who diſcovered ſome timidity. After the battle, they were all declared free. Their joy was incredible. Gracchus, under whoſe command they were, told them: *Before I make you all equal by the title of liberty, I would not willingly have made a difference between the valiant and the timorous. It is however but juſt that I ſhould do ſo.* He then made all thoſe, who had not done their duty as well as the reſt, promiſe upon oath, that, as long as they ſerved, as a puniſhment for their fault, they ſhould always ſtand at their meals, except when hindered by ſickneſs: which was accepted and executed with entire ſubmiſſion. This of all the military puniſhments was the lighteſt and moſt gentle.

Liv. l. 22. n. 5. l. 24. n. 14—16.

* Jam alterum annum libertatem tacitè mereri, quàm poſtulare palam maluerunt. *Liv.*

The puniſhments I have hitherto related ſcarce affected any thing beſides the ſoldier's honour: there were others which extended to his life.

Polyb. l. 6. p. 481. One of the latter was called *Fuſtuarium*, * the baſtinado. It was executed thus. The tribune taking a ſtick, only touched the criminal with it, and immediately after, all the ſoldiers of the legion fell on him with ſticks and ſtones, ſo that he generally loſt his life in this puniſhment. If any one eſcaped, he was not thereby entirely diſcharged. His return into his own own country was eternally prohibited, and not one of his relations dared open his door to him. They puniſhed a centinel in this manner, who had quitted his poſt; from whence may be judged the exact diſcipline they obſerved in reſpect to the guard by night, on which the ſafety and preſervation of the whole army depended: all thoſe who abandoned their poſts, whether officers or ſoldiers, were treated in the ſame manner. † Vellejus Paterculus cites an example of this puniſhment, executed upon one of the principal officers of a legion, for having ſhamefully taken to flight in battle: this was in the time of Antony and young Octavius. But what appears more aſtoniſhing, thoſe were condemned to the ſame puniſhment, who ſtole in the camp. The rea-

* Si Antonius conſul, fuſtuarium meruerunt legiones, quæ conſulem reliquerunt. *Cic. Philip.* 3. n 14.

† Calvinus Domitius cum ex conſulatu obtineret Hiſpaniam, graviſſimi comparandique antiquis exempli antiquis auctor fuit. Quippe principili centurionem, nomine Vibilium, ob turpem ex acie fugam, fuſte percuſſit. *Paterc.* l. 2. c. 78.

der

der may remember the oath taken by the soldiers upon their entering it.

When a whole legion or cohort were guilty, as it was not possible to put all that were criminal to death, they were decimated by lot, and he whose name was drawn the tenth, was executed. In this manner, fear seized all, though few were punished. Others were sentenced to receive barley instead of wheat, and to encamp without the entrenchments at the hazard of being attacked by the enemy. Livy has an example of a decimation as early as the infancy of the republick. Crassus, when he put himself at the head of the legions, who had suffered themselves to be defeated by Spartacus, revived the ancient custom of the Romans, which had been disused for several ages, of decimating the soldiers when they had failed in their duty; and that punishment had a very happy effect. This kind of death, says Plutarch, is atttended with great ignominy; and as it was executed before the whole army, it diffused terror and horror throughout the camp.

Liv. l. 2. n. 59. Plut. in Crass. p. 548.

Decimation became very common under the emperors, especially in regard to the Christians, whose refusal to adore idols, or persecute believers, was considered and punished as a sacrilegious revolt. The Theban legion was treated in this manner under Maximian. That emperor caused it to be decimated three times successively, without being able to overcome the pious resistance of those generous soldiers. Mauritius, their commander, in concert with all the other officers, wrote a very short, but admirable letter to the emperor.

Ex epist. S. Eucherii Lugd. ad Sylv. Episc.

We

**We are your ſoldiers, emperor, but the ſervants of God. We owe you our ſervice, but him our innocency. We cannot renounce God, to obey you; that God, who is our creator and maſter, and yours alſo, whether you will or no.* All the reſt of the legion were put to death without making the leaſt reſiſtance, and went to join the legions of angels, and to praiſe the God of armies with them for evermore.

Theſe capital puniſhments were not frequent in the time of the republick. † It was a capital crime, as we have ſaid, to quit a poſt or fight without orders: and the example of fathers, who had not ſpared their own ſons, inſpired a juſt terror, which prevented faults, and occaſioned the rules of military diſcipline to be reſpected. There is in theſe bloody executions a ſeverity ſhocking to nature, and which however we could not venture abſolutely to condemn; becauſe if every great publick ‖ example has ſomething of injuſtice in it, on the other ſide, whatever of that kind is contrary to the intereſt of particulars, is compenſated by the utility which redounds to the publick from it.

A general is ſometimes obliged to treat his ſoldiers with great rigour, either to put a ſtop by

* Milites ſumus, imperator, tui ſed tamen ſervi dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. Se qui imperatorem in hoc nequaquam poſſumus, ut actorem negemus; Deum auctorem noſtrum. Deum auctorem, velis nobis, tuum.

† Præſidio decedere apud Romanos capital eſſe, & nece liberorum etiam ſuorum eam legem parentes ſanxiſſe. *Liv.* l. 24. n. 37.

‖ Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra ſingulos, utilitate publica reprenditur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 44.

timely

timely ſeverities either to a revolt juſt forming, or an open violation of diſcipline. He would at ſuch times be cruel if he acted with gentleneſs, and would reſemble the ſurgeon, who out of a falſe compaſſion ſhould chuſe rather to let the whole body periſh, than cut off a mortified member. What is be avoided on theſe occaſions, is to ſeem to act from paſſion or hatred: *for then the remedies improperly applied would only aggravate the diſeaſe. This happened in the firſt example of decimation I cited, by which Appius had made himſelf ſo extremely odious to the ſoldiers, that they choſe rather to ſuffer themſelves to be beaten by the enemy, than to conquer with him and for him. He was of an obſtinate diſpoſition, and inflexibly rigid. Papirius, long after, acted much more wiſely in a caſe not unlike this. †His ſoldiers, expreſsly to mortify him, retreated in battle, and deprived him of a victory. He perceived like an able captain the cauſe of that behaviour, and found it neceſſary to moderate his ſeverity, and ſoften his too imperious humour. He did ſo, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he entirely regained the affection of his troops. A compleat victory was the conſequence. Much art and prudence are requiſite in puniſhing with ſucceſs.

Liv. l. 8. n. 36.

Ibid.

It was rather by the views of reward and ſenſe of honour that the Romans engaged their troops to do their duty. After the taking of

* Intempeſtivis remediis delicta accendebatur. *Tacit.*

† Ceſſatum à milite, ac de induſtria, ut obtrectaretur de laudibus ducis, impedita victoria eſt.—— Senſit peritus dux quæ res victoriæ obſtaret: temperandum ingenium ſuum eſſe, & ſeveritatem miſcendam comitate. *Liv.*

a town,

a town, or gaining a battle, the general uſually gave the booty to the ſoldiers, but with admirable order, as Polybius informs us in his relation of the taking of Carthagena. It is, ſays he, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom amongſt the Romans, upon the ſignal given by the generals, to diſperſe themſelves in order to plunder the city that has been taken: after which every one carries the booty he has got to his own legion. When the whole has been ſold by auction, the tribunes divide the money into equal ſhares, which are given not only to thoſe who are in other poſts, but to them who have been left to guard the camp, the ſick, and ſuch as have been detached upon any occaſion. And to prevent any injuſtice from being committed in this part of the war, the ſoldiers are made to ſwear before they take the field, and the firſt day they aſſemble, that they will not ſecrete any part of the booty, but faithfully bring in whatever they ſhall make. What a love of order, obſervance of diſcipline, and regard for juſtice does this argue, amidſt the tumult of arms, and the very ardour of victory!

Upon the day of triumph, the general made another diſtribution of money in greater or leſs proportions, according to the different times of the republick; but always moderate enough before the civil wars.

Liv. l. 7. n. 37. Honour was ſometimes annexed to advantage, and the ſoldier was much more ſenſible to the one than the other: and how much more the officers! P. Decius the tribune, with a detachment which he conducted at the hazard of his life upon the brink of an eminence, had ſaved the whole army by one of the nobleſt actions mentioned in hiſtory.

Upon

Upon his return, the conſul, in the preſence of all the troops, beſtowed the higheſt praiſes upon him, and beſides many other military preſents, gave him a crown of gold, and an hundred oxen, to which he added another ox of extraordinary ſize and beauty with gilt horns. He decreed the ſoldiers, who had accompanied the tribune, a double portion of corn during the whole time they ſhould ſerve: and for the preſent, two oxen and two compleat dreſſes a man. The legions alſo, to expreſs their gratitude, preſented Decius with a crown of turf, which was the ſign of a ſiege raiſed; and his own ſoldiers did the ſame. He ſacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars, and gave the other hundred to his ſoldiers: the legions alſo rewarded each of them with a pound of flower, and a gallon of wine.

Calphurnius Piſo, ſirnamed *Frugi*, out of veneration for his virtues and great frugality, having variouſly rewarded moſt of thoſe, who had aſſiſted him in terminating the Sicilian war, thought himſelf obliged to reward alſo, but at his own expence, the ſervices of one of his ſons, who had ſignalized himſelf the moſt upon that occaſion. He declared publickly, that he had deſerved a crown of gold, and aſſured him, that he would leave him one by his will, of the weight of three pounds: decreeing him that honour as general, and paying the price of the crown as father: *Ut honorem publicè à duce, pretium privatim à patre acciperet.* Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

The crown of gold was a preſent ſcarce ever granted but to principal officers. There were ſeveral others for different occaſions.

The crown *Obſidionalis*, of which I have ſpoken before, for having delivered the citizens or troops from a ſiege: it was compoſed of turf, and was the moſt glorious of all. The *Corona Civica*, for having ſaved the life of a citizen: it was of oaken leaves, in remembrance, as is ſaid, that men of old fed upon acorns. The *Mural* crown, for having been the firſt in ſcaling the walls of a place beſieged: it was adorned with a kind of battlements, like thoſe to be ſeen upon the ancient walls of towns. The *Corona Navalis*, which was compoſed of ornaments like beaks of ſhips. It was given to the admiral of a fleet, who had gained a victory. Examples of this kind are very rare. Agrippa, who obtained one, thought it very much for his honour.

Pinnis.

Roſtra.

Virg. Æn. l. 8.

——————Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum,
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata coronâ.

——————Who bears war's glorious ſign,
Beak'd with the naval crown whoſe temples ſhine.

Beſides theſe crowns (for there were ſome others) the generals preſented the ſoldiers or officers, who ſignalized themſelves in a particular manner, with a ſword, a ſhield, and other arms; and ſometimes alſo with diſtinguiſhing military habits. * We have ſeen an officer rewarded thirty four times by the generals, and gain ſix civick crowns.

Theſe preſents and crowns were titles of nobility to them, and upon competitions with ri-

* Quater & tricies virtutis cauſa donatus ab imperatoribus ſum: ſex civicas coronas accepi. *Liv.* l. 42. n. 34.

vals

vals for ranks and dignities, often determined the preference in their favour; and they did not fail to adorn themſelves with them upon publick ſolemnities. They alſo affixed to the doors of their houſes the ſpoils they had taken from the enemy; nor was any future poſſeſſor permitted to take them down. Upon which Pliny makes a fine reflection, that it is impoſſible to render in terms of ſo much ſpirit as his. "The houſes, ſays he, ſtill triumphed, "though they had changed their maſters. "What could more excite to glory, or be "more offenſive to an unworthy poſſeſſor, than "walls, which reproached him as often as he "entered, that they were honoured ſolely by "the trophies of another." *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis, domus ipſæ. Et erat hæc ſtimulatio ingens, exprobantibus tectis quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.*

Liv. l. 10. n. 7. l. 23. l. 38. n. 43.

Plin. l. 35. c. 2.

The praiſes given in the preſence of the whole army made no leſs impreſſion upon their minds; and are what a good general never ſpares on proper occaſions. Agricola *, ſays Tacitus, neither envied nor leſſened any man's glory: Centurion or Præfect, in him they found a faithful witneſs of their exploits, to which he never failed doing the utmoſt juſtice. Cæſar upon being informed of the valour with which Q. Cicero, the famous orator's brother, had defended his camp againſt the great army of the Gauls, extolled publickly the greatneſs of the action, praiſed the legion in general,

Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.

* Nec unquam per alios geſta avidus intercepit: ſeu centurio, ſeu præfectus, incorruptum facti teſtem habebat. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.* c. 22.

and apoſtrophized particularly to thoſe of the centurions and tribunes, who, as Cicero has obſerved to him, diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. Upon another occaſion, Scæva, a centurion, had contributed very much to the defence of a breach of great importance. When his buckler was brought to Cæſar with two hundred and thirty arrow-ſhots through it; ſurprized and charmed with his bravery, he immediately made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, (about twelve hundred pounds) and raiſed him directly from the eighth to the firſt rank of the centurions, appointing him Primipilus, a very honourable poſt, as I have obſerved elſewhere, and which had no ſuperior but the tribunes, lieutenant-generals, and commanders in chief.

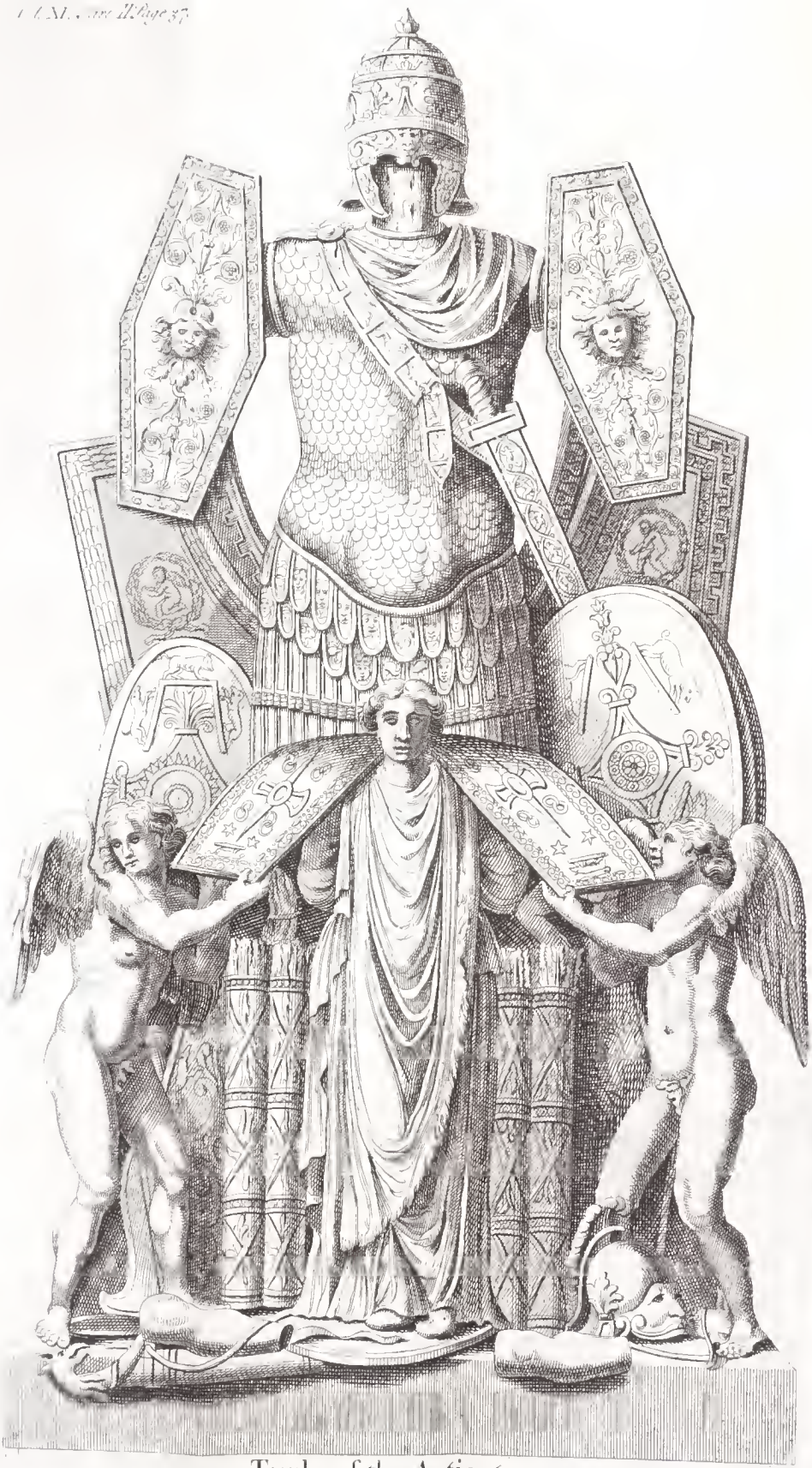
De Bell. Civ. l. 3.

Nothing was equal to this latter method of rewarding, for inſpiring the troops with valour. By a wiſe eſtabliſhment, there were many degrees of honour and diſtinction in a legion, of which none were granted upon account of birth, or bought for money. Merit was the only means of attaining them, at leaſt it was the moſt ordinary method. Whatever diſtance there was between the private centinel and the conſular dignity, the door lay open to it: it was a beaten path, and there were many examples of citizens, who from one degree to another, at length attained that ſupreme dignity. With what ardour muſt ſuch a ſight inſpire the troops! Men are capable of every thing, when properly excited by the motives of honour and glory.

It remains for me to ſay ſomething upon trophies and triumphs.

Trophies,





Trophy of the Antients.

Trophies, amongſt the ancients, were originally an heap of arms and ſpoils taken from enemies, and erected by the victor in the field of battle, of which in after-times repreſentations were made in ſtone and braſs. They never failed, immediately after a victory, to raiſe a trophy, which was looked upon as a ſacred thing, becauſe always an offering to ſome divinity: for which reaſon none preſumed to throw it down. Neither when it fell through age, was it permitted to erect it again; for which Plutarch gives a fine reaſon, that argues great humanity in the ſentiments of the ancients. *To re-inſtate*, ſays he, *and ſet up again the monuments of ancient differences with enemies, which time has conveniently demoliſhed, has ſomething odious in it, and ſeems to argue a deſire to perpetuate enmity.* Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. p. 272.

We do not obſerve the ſame humanity in the Roman triumphs, of which I am ſtill to ſpeak. The generals, as well as the officers and ſoldiers, had alſo rewards in view. The title of *Imperator* granted after a victory, and the ſupplications, that is to ſay, the publick proceſſions, ſacrifices, and prayers, decreed at Rome for a certain number of days, to thank the gods for the ſucceſs of their arms, agreeably flattered their ambition. But the triumph exceeded every thing. There were two ſorts of it, the leſs and the greater.

The leſs triumph was called *Ovatio*. In that the general was neither ſeated on a chariot, dreſt in triumphal robes, nor crowned with lawrel. He entered the city on foot, or, according to ſome, on horſeback, crowned with myrtle, and followed by his army. This

kind of triumph was granted only, either when the war had not been declared, had been with a people little conſiderable, or not attended with any great defeat of the enemy.

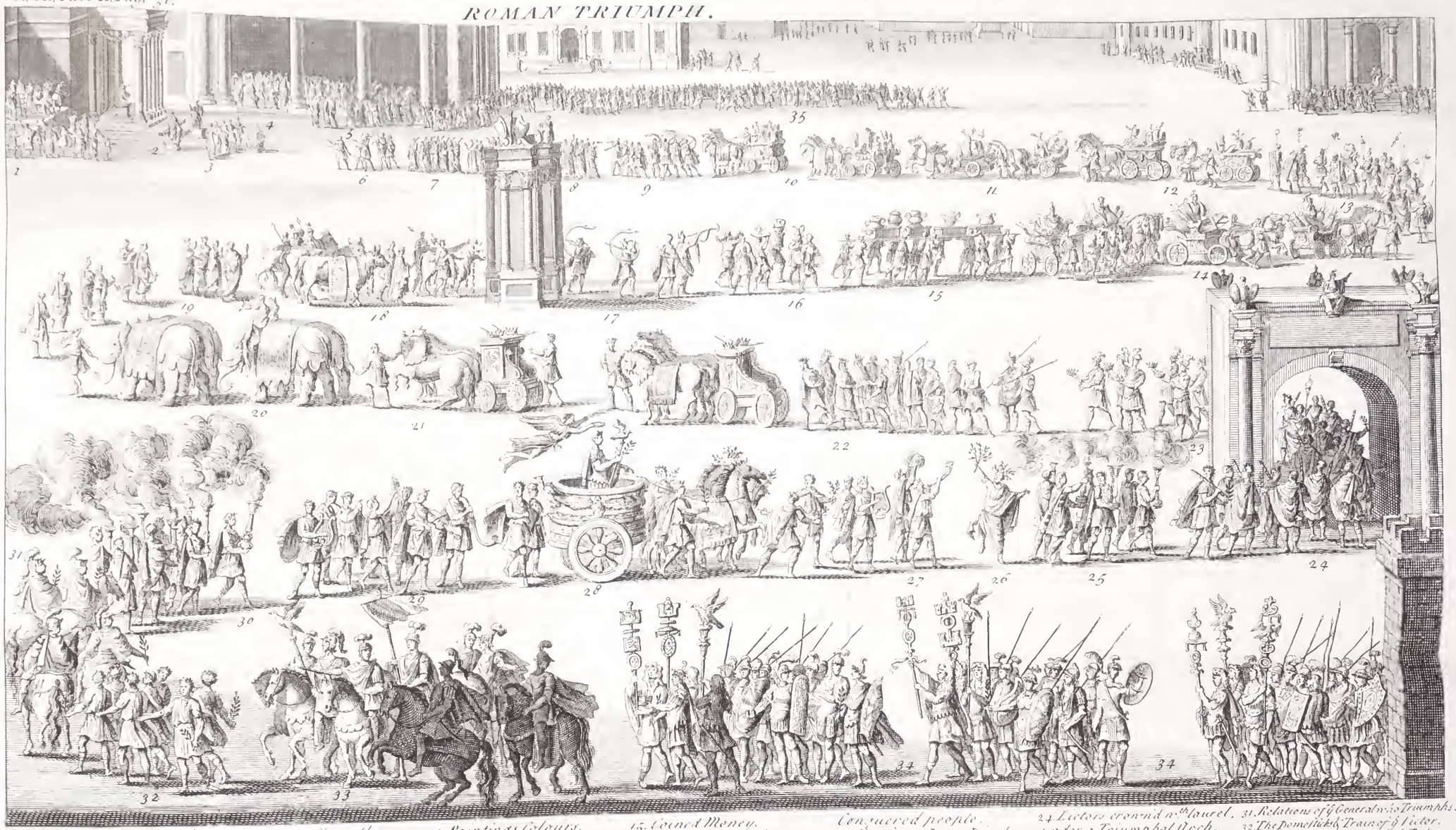
A triumph could properly be granted only to a dictator, a conſul, or a prætor, who had commanded in chief. The ſenate decreed this honour, after which the affair was deliberated upon in the aſſembly of the people, where it often met with great difficulties. Several however triumphed without the ſenate's concurrence; provided the people had decreed them that honour. But if they could not obtain it from either the one or the other order, they went and triumphed upon the Alban mountain in the neighbourhood of the city. It is ſaid, that to obtain this honour, it was neceſſary to have killed five thouſand enemies in battle.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 8.

After the general had diſtributed part of the ſpoils to the ſoldiers, and performed ſome other ceremonies, the proceſſion began, and entered the city through the triumphal port to aſcend to the capitol. At the head of it were the players upon muſical inſtruments, who made the air reſound with their harmony. They were followed by the beaſts that were to be ſacrificed, adorned with fillets and flowers, many of them having their horns gilt. After them came the whole booty, and all the ſpoils, either diſplayed upon carriages, or borne upon the ſhoulders of young men in magnificent habits. The names of the nations conquered were written in great characters, and the cities, that had been taken, repreſented. Sometimes they added to the pomp extraordinary animals, brought from the countries ſubjected, as bears, panthers,

Vol. XI. Part II. Page 38.

ROMAN TRIUMPH.



Corona Obsidionalis or Graminea.

Civick Crown.

Naval Crown or Corona Rostralis

Mural Crown

Triumphal Crown of Laurel

Radial Crown or Antique

Corona Vallaris or Castrensis

Crown of Ovation of Myrtle —

W H Toms sculp.

1. Largess of the Victor who triumphs to the Romon People.
2. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
3. Ministers and Officers of the Pontiffs.
4. The Consuls.
5. The Lictors.
6. Persons to Clear the way.
7. Lictors. 8. Magistrates.
9. Trumpets.
10. Pictures of the Cities taken, & other conquests.
11. Gold, Silver, & Copper either in Ingots, or Coined.
12. Paintings, Colours, Standards, Gold, Silver Brass, Ivory, Jewels, Purple Robes, & other rich Spoils.
13. Crowns distributed amongst the Roman Soldiers.
14. Arms of ye Conquer'd Nations.
15. Coined Money.
16. Vessels of Gold & Silver.
17. Trumpets.
18. Victims & Sacrifices.
19. Ministers & Officers of the Pontiffs.
20. Elephants of the Conquered people.
21. Chariots, Arms, Diadems, & Crowns of the Conquered Princes & Generals.
22. Captive Kings with their Families & Train.
23. Crowns given to ye General who triumphs by ye Provinces.
24. Lictors crown'd with Laurel, & under a Triumphal Arch.
25. Persons with incense & perfumes.
26. The smoker of ye Anguished, & other Commanders of the Army.
27. Players on ye Flute & Lyre.
28. The Victor in his Triumphal Chariot. 29. Players upon ye Flute & Lyre. 30. Perfumes &c.
31. Relations of ye General who Triumphs.
32. The Domesticks & Train of ye Victor.
33. The Lieutenants, Generals, Tribunes,
34. The Army of ye Roman People divided into Legions, Cohorts, & maniples.
35. The Croud of Citizens.

panthers, lions, and elephants. But what moſt attracted the attention and curioſity of the ſpectators, were the illuſtrious captives, who walked in chains before the victor's chariot; great officers of ſtate, generals of armies, princes, kings with their wives and children. The conſul followed, (ſuppoſing the general to be ſo) mounted upon a ſuperb chariot, drawn by four horſes, and robed with the auguſt and magnificent habit of triumph, his head incircled with a crown of lawrel, holding alſo a branch of the ſame tree in his hand; and ſometimes accompanied with his young children ſitting by him. Behind the chariot marched the whole army, the cavalry firſt, then the infantry. All the ſoldiers were crowned with lawrel, and thoſe who had received particular crowns, and other marks of honour, did not fail to ſhew them on ſo great a ſolemnity. They emulated each other in celebrating the praiſes of their general, and ſometimes threw in expreſſions, ſufficiently offenſive, of raillery and ſatyr againſt him, which ſavoured of the military freedom; but the joy of the ceremony entirely blunted their edge, and abated their bitterneſs.

Aſſoon as the conſul turned from the forum towards the capitol, the priſoners were carried to priſon; where they were either immediately put to death, or often kept in confinement for the reſt of their lives. Upon his entrance into the capitol, the victor made this very remarkable prayer to the god. * *Filled with gratitude and*

* Gratias tibi, Jupiter optume, maxume; tibique Junoni reginæ, & cæteris hujus cuſtodibus habitatoribuſque

and joy, I return you thanks, O moſt good and moſt great Jupiter, and you queen Juno, and all the other gods, the guardians and inhabitants of this citadel, that to this day and hour you have vouchſafed by my hands to preſerve and guide the Roman republick happily. Continue always, I implore you, to preſerve, guide, protect, and favour it in all things. This prayer was followed by ſacrificing the victims, and a magnificent feaſt, given in the capitol, ſometimes by the publick, and ſometimes by the perſon himſelf who triumphed. The reader may ſee in Plutarch the long and fine deſcription he gives of the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

It muſt be allowed, that this was a glorious day for a general of an army; and it is not ſurprizing that all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to deſerve ſo grateful a diſtinction, and ſo ſplendid an honour. Nor had Rome any thing more magnificent and majeſtick than this pompous ceremony. But the ſight of captives, the mournful objects of compaſſion, if thoſe victors had been capable of any, obſcured and effaced all its luſtre. What inhuman pleaſure! What barbarous joy! To ſee princes, kings, princeſſes, queens, tender infants, and feeble old men, dragged before them! We may remember the diſſembled marks of friendſhip, the falſe promiſes, the treacherous careſſes of young Cæſar, called afterwards Auguſtus, in regard to Cleopatra, ſolely with the view of

que arcis diis lubens lætuſque ago, re Romana in hanc diem & horam, per manus quod voluiſti, ſervata. benè geſtaque. Eandem & ſervate, ut facitis, fovete, protegite, propitiati, ſupplex oro. *Ex Roſini Antiq. Rom.*

inducing

inducing that princeſs to ſuffer herſelf to be carried to Rome, that is to ſay, to adorn his triumph, and gratify him in the cruel ſatisfaction of ſeeing the moſt potent queen of the world proſtrate at his feet in the moſt depreſſed and forlorn condition it were poſſible to imagine. But ſhe well knew the ſnare. Such a conduct and ſuch ſentiments, in my opinion, diſhonour human nature.

In relating the rewards granted by the Romans to the ſoldiery, I have omitted a very important circumſtance, I mean the eſtabliſhment of colonies. When the Romans firſt carried their arms, and extended their conqueſts out of Italy, they puniſhed the people, who reſiſted them with two much obſtinacy, by depriving them of part of their lands, which they granted to ſuch of the Roman citizens as were poor, and eſpecially to the veteran ſoldiers, who had ſerved their full proportion of time in the army. By this means the latter ſaw themſelves ſettled in tranquillity with a comfortable income, ſufficient for the ſupport of their families. They became by degrees the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities to which they were ſent, and obtained the firſt poſts, and and principal dignities in them. Rome by theſe ſettlements, which were the reſult of a wiſe and profound policy, beſides rewarding her ſoldiers advantageouſly, kept the conquered nations in ſubjection by their means, formed them to the Roman manners and cuſtoms, and by degrees made them forget their own uſages and diſpoſitions, to embrace thoſe of their victors. France has eſtabliſhed a new kind of military reward, which merits a place here.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Eſtabliſhment of the royal hoſpital of invalids at Paris.

WE do not find either amongſt the Greeks or Romans, or any other people, any publick foundations for the relief of the ſoldiery, whom either long fatigues or wounds had made incapable of ſervice. It was reſerved for Lewis XIV. to ſet other princes that example, which England ſoon began to imitate; and we may ſay, that amongſt an infinite number of great actions which have rendered his reign illuſtrious, nothing equals the glorious foundation of the *Hotel roial des invalides.*

There has been lately publiſhed a book upon the royal hoſpital of invalids, which anſwers in ſome meaſure the magnificence of that foundation, in the beauty and number of its plates and ornaments. In this book, all that regards the revenues, expences, buildings, diſcipline, and government temporal and ſpiritual of that houſe, are circumſtantially explained. We are obliged to perſons who take pains to preſerve and tranſmit in this manner to poſterity an exact knowledge of facts ſo worthy of remembrance. For my part, my intent is only to give a brief idea of them.

Every thing in this ſtructure denotes the grandeur and magnificence of its auguſt founder. We are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of a vaſt and ſuperb edifice, capable of containing almoſt four thouſand perſons, in which

which art has known how to unite whatever could ſtrike the eye on the out-ſide by pomp and ſplendor, with all that can conduce to the uſes and conveniences of life within.

There, in tranquillity and repoſe, the officers and ſoldiers, whom their wounds or age have made unable to ſerve, and the narrowneſs of their fortunes incapable to ſupport themſelves; there, thoſe brave warriors, freed from all care and diſquiet, are lodged, fed, cloathed, and maintained, as well in ſickneſs as health, in a decent manner, and find a ſafe retreat, and an honourable aſylum provided for them, by the piety and paternal goodneſs of Lewis XIV.

It is natural to conceive, that the expence for the ſupport of ſuch an houſe muſt be immenſe. Two thouſand five hundred quarters of wheat, and about eleven thouſand five hundred hogſheads of wine are annually conſumed in it. Phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and ſervants, abound in this houſe. The infirmaries are ſerved by thirty five ſiſters, *Filles de la charité*, with ſurprizing induſtry and cleanlineſs.

But from whence ariſe the funds neceſſary for ſuch a multitude of wants and occaſions? Who could believe it, or can ſufficiently admire the wiſdom, that inſtituted ſuch order and œconomy? It is the officer and ſoldier, who contribute with joy, and almoſt inſenſibly, to an eſtabliſhment, in which they hope one day to find tranquillity and repoſe, and a period of all their labours. The fund for all theſe expences ariſe from three deniers (a twelfth part of a French penny) deducted from every livre of the ordinary and extraordinary expences of war. This ſeems a ſmall matter in itſelf, but the

total

total amounts to a very conſiderable ſum. During the war which ended 1714, in which an hundred millions of livres were yearly expended, theſe three deniers *per* livre, produced twelve hundred and fifty thouſand livres a year.

About ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.

I have ſaid nothing yet of what is moſt admirable in this foundation, is in a manner its ſoul, and does moſt honour to the memory of Lewis XIV. I do not mean that magnificent temple, wherein the moſt famous maſters in architecture, painting, and ſculpture, the Manſards, Decottes, Coypelles, Girardons, Couſtons, have exhauſted their whole art to adorn that auguſt pile. I mean the charitable care and chriſtian attention of that prince, after having provided, with a magnificence truly royal, for the temporal occaſions of the officers and ſoldiers, in providing alſo that they ſhould not want all the aids of religion in their retreat. It happens ſometimes, that theſe warriors take upon them the profeſſion of arms ſolely from the views of intereſt and ambition: that tho' moſt accompliſhed in military knowledge, they are utterly ignorant of religion: and that full of zeal and fidelity for their prince, they never give themſelves any trouble about knowing their duty to God. How great an advantage and conſolation is it to them to find, towards the cloſe of their days, in the zeal and charity of wiſe and religious miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe inſtructions, which perhaps they have wanted in the former part of their lives; to recal in the bitterneſs of their hearts, whole years entirely paſt in vice and libertiniſm; and to retrieve by ſincere repentance and ſorrow the reward of all their actions, even of the moſt laudable,

laudable, which were otherwiſe unfortunately loſt to them from the badneſs of their motives.

The pomp and magnificence of this temple are juſtly admired. But another object preſents itſelf to our view at whatever hour of the day we enter it, a ſight far more worthy of admiration, and which cannot be looked upon without tears in our eyes: ancient warriors maimed, crippled, without legs, arms, eyes, humbly proſtrating themſelves before the God of armies, whoſe majeſty they adore with the moſt profound reſignation; to whom they pay continual thankſgivings for having delivered them out of ſo many dangers, and eſpecially for having taken them from the gates of hell; to whom, filled with the moſt lively ſenſe of gratitude, they inceſſantly lift up their hands and voices, to ſay: Be mindful, O Lord, of the prince who has opened this thy ſacred aſylum for us, and be merciful to him for the mercy which he hath ſhewn to us thy ſervants.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

OF SIEGES.

THE ancients diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the art of forming and ſuſtaining ſieges, than by that of making war in the field. It is agreed by all, that they carried theſe two parts of military knowledge to a very high degree of perfection, which it is difficult for the moderns to exceed. The uſe of muſkets, bombs, canons, and other fire-arms ſince the invention of powder, has occaſioned the alteration of many things in the manner of making war, eſpecially in ſieges, the duration of which has been very much abridged by their means. But theſe changes have not been ſo conſiderable as generally imagined, and have added nothing either to the merit or capacity of generals.

To treat what relates to ſieges with ſome order, I ſhall premiſe ſomething upon the manner in which the fortifications of the ancients were formed; and ſhall then give ſome general idea of the principal machines of war uſed by them in ſieges; and conclude with the attack and defence of places. The Chevalier Follard has treated theſe ſeveral articles very extenſively in the ſecond and third volumes of his remarks upon Polybius, and has been my guide in a ſubject that required the direction of an able and experienced ſoldier.

ARTICLE I.

Of ancient fortifications.

HOW far ſoever we look back into antiquity, we find amongſt the Greeks and Romans, cities fortified almoſt in the ſame manner with their foſſes, courtains, and towers. Vitruvius, in treating of the conſtruction of places of war in his time, ſays, that the towers ought to project beyond the wall, in order that when the enemy approaches, the defenders upon the right and left may take them in flank: and that they ought to be round, and faced with many ſtones, becauſe ſuch as are ſquare, are ſoon beat down by the machines of war and battering rams, which eaſily break their angles. He adds after ſome remarks, that near the towers the wall ſhould be cut within-ſide the breadth of the tower, and that the ways broke in this manner ſhould only be joined and continued by beams laid upon the two extremities, without being made faſt with iron, that in caſe the enemy ſhould make himſelf maſter of any part of the wall, the beſieged might remove this wooden bridge, and thereby prevent his paſſage to the other parts of the wall and into the towers.

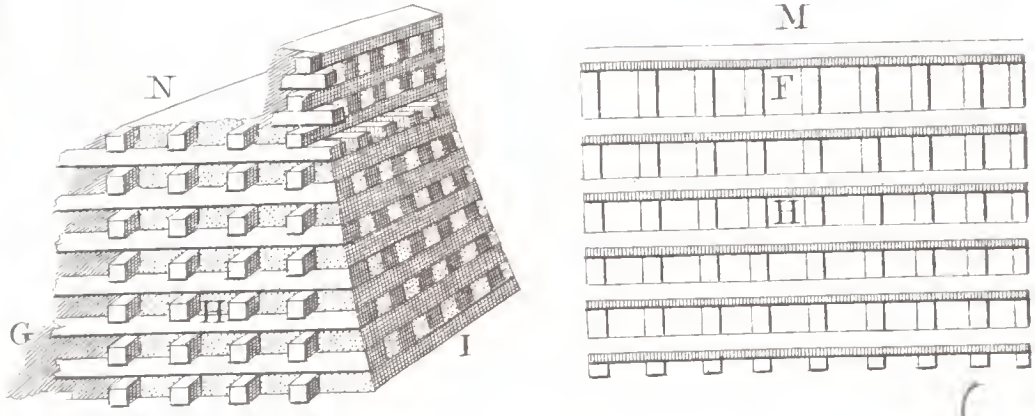
The beſt towns of the ancients were ſituated upon eminences. They incloſed them ſometimes within two or three walls and foſsés. Beroſus, cited by Joſephus, informs us, that Nebuchadonoſor fortified Babylon with a triple incloſure of brick walls of a ſurprizing ſtrength and height. Polybius, ſpeaking of Syringa, the

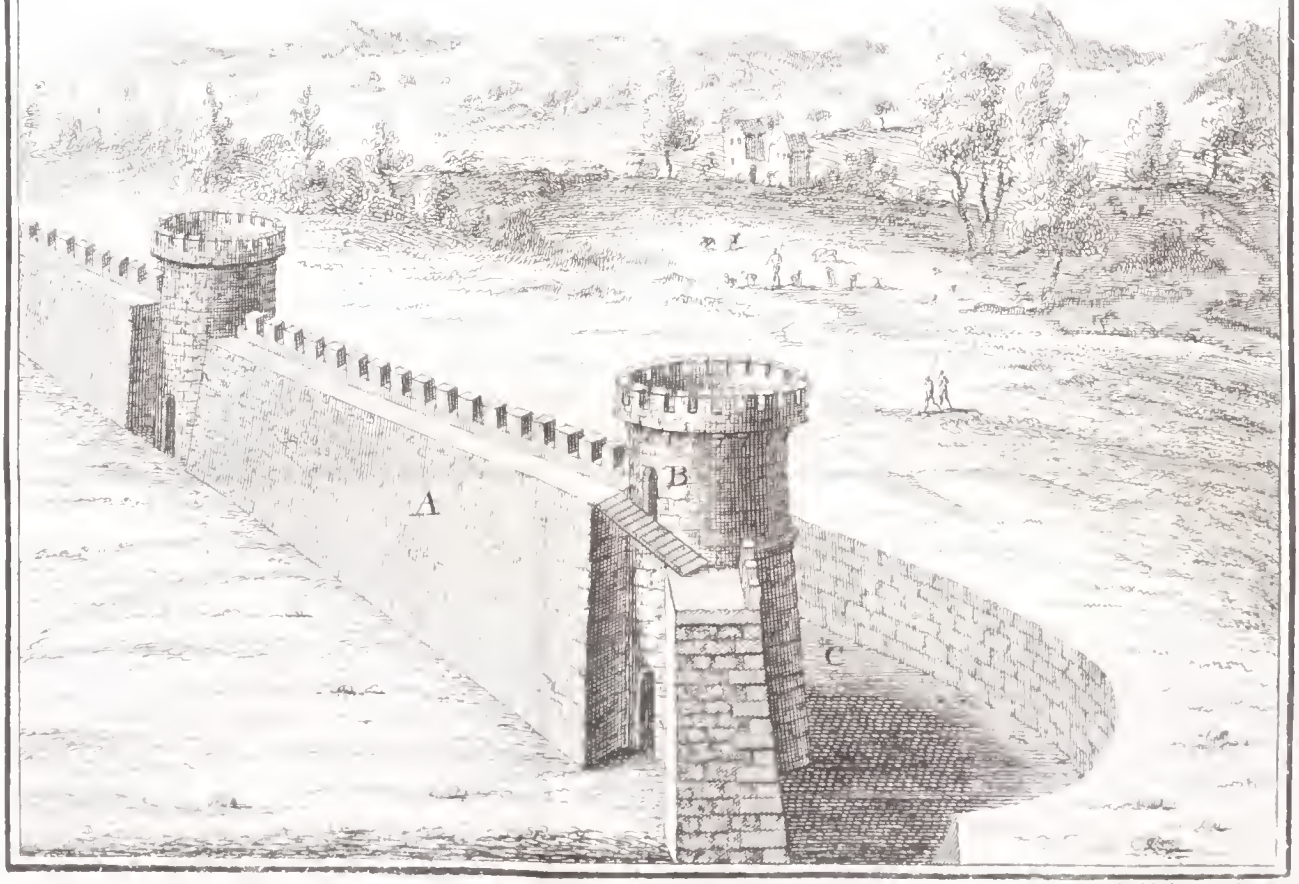
the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus beſieged, ſays, that city was ſurrounded with three foſsés, each forty five feet broad, and twenty two deep; upon each ſide of theſe was a double entrenchment, and behind all, a ſtrong wall. The city of Jeruſalem, ſays Joſephus, was ſurrounded by a triple wall, except on the ſide of the valleys, where there was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible. To theſe they had added many other works, one of which, ſays Joſephus, had it been compleated, would have rendered the city impregnable. The ſtones, of which it was built, were thirty foot long by fifteen broad, which made it ſo ſtrong, that it was in a manner impoſſible to ſap or ſhake it with machines. The whole was flanked with towers from ſpace to ſpace of extraordinary ſolidity, and built with wonderful art.

The ancients did not generally ſupport their walls on the in-ſide with earth, in the manner of the Talus or ſlope, which made the attacks more dangerous. For though the enemy had gained ſome footing upon them, he could not aſſure himſelf of taking the city. It was neceſſary to get down, and to make uſe of part of the ladders by which he had mounted; and that deſcent expoſed the ſoldier to very great danger. Vitruvius however obſerves, that there is nothing renders a rampart ſo ſtrong as when the walls both of the courtain and towers are ſupported by earth. For then neither rams, mines, nor any other machines, can ſhake them.

The places of war of the ancients were not always fortified with ſtone walls. They were ſometimes

Plan and Profile of the Walls of Bourges





Profile and Elevations of the Walls of the Ancients

W.H. Toms Sculp.

ſometimes encloſed within good ramparts of earth of great firmneſs and ſolidity. The manner of coating them with turf was not unknown to them, nor the art of ſupporting the earth with ſtrong faſcines made faſt by ſtakes, and of arming the top of the rampart with a ruff or fraiſe of paliſades, and the foot of the parapet or pas de ſouris with another: they often planted paliſades alſo in the foſsé to defend themſelves againſt ſudden attacks.

They made walls alſo with beams croſſed over one another, with ſpaces between them in manner of a chequer, the void parts of which they filled up with earth and ſtones. Such almoſt were the walls of the city of Bourges, deſcribed by Cæſar in his ſeventh book of the war with the Gauls.

PLATE XI. explain'd.

Profile and elevation of the walls of the ancients.

THE lower part of this plate is a ſide-view or profile of the walls, towers, and foſsé of the ancient fortifications, as deſcribed in the text according to Vitruvius.

A. The wall or courtine.

B. The towers. Theſe were ſituated at the diſtance of an arrow-ſhot from each other, for the better annoying the beſiegers upon attacks.

C. The foſsé.

The materials of theſe works differed; all places not affording the ſame kinds, and the beſt they produced being the rule for the uſe of them.

The plan and profile of the walls of Bourges, on the upper part of this plate, is an example of theſe materials and the manner of uſing them.

Cæſar deſcribes them thus: "The walls of "Bourges, and almoſt thoſe of the country, "were made of pieces of wood forty feet in "length F, laid along the earth at the diſtance "of two feet from each other, and croſſed "over by others of equal length and at equal "diſtance with their ends to the front of the "wall G. The ſpaces on the inſide H were "filled up with earth and faſcines, and on the "outſide with ſolid ſtones I, in which manner "the work was carried to the top; the ſtone-"work upon the ends, and in the ſpaces of "the wood, and the ends of the wood, &c. "upon the ſtone-work, as in the figures N M." He adds, "that the work by this diſpoſition was "agreeable to the eye, and very ſtrong; be-"cauſe the wood was of great force againſt the "ram, and the ſtones againſt fire: beſides which, "the thickneſs of the wall, which was generally "forty feet, or the length of the beams, made "it next to impoſſible either to make a breach "in it, or throw it down in any manner."

What I ſhall ſay in the ſequel, when I come to explain the manner of attacking and defending places, will ſhew more diſtinctly what kind of fortifications thoſe of the ancients were. It is pretended that the moderns excel them very much in this point. The thing is not ſo indiſputable but it may be called in queſtion;

queſtion; though no compariſon can be made between them; becauſe their manner of attacking and defending is entirely different. The moderns have retained all they could after the ancients. Fire-arms have obliged them to uſe other precautions. The ſame genius is evident in both. The moderns have imagined nothing, that the ancients could uſe, and have not uſed. We have borrowed from them the breadth and depth of foſsés, the thickneſs of walls, the towers to flank the courtines, the paliſades, the entrenchments within the ramparts and towers, the advantage of many flanks, in multiplying of which only modern fortification conſiſts; this fire-arms makes the more eaſy to execute. I have heard theſe remarks made by very able and experienced perſons, who with a profound knowledge of the manner in which the ancients made war unite a perfect experience of the modern practice of it.

ARTICLE II.

Of the machines of war.

THE machines moſt uſed and beſt known amongſt the ancients for beſieging places, were the tortoiſe, the catapulta, the baliſta, the corvus or crane, the ram, and moving towers.

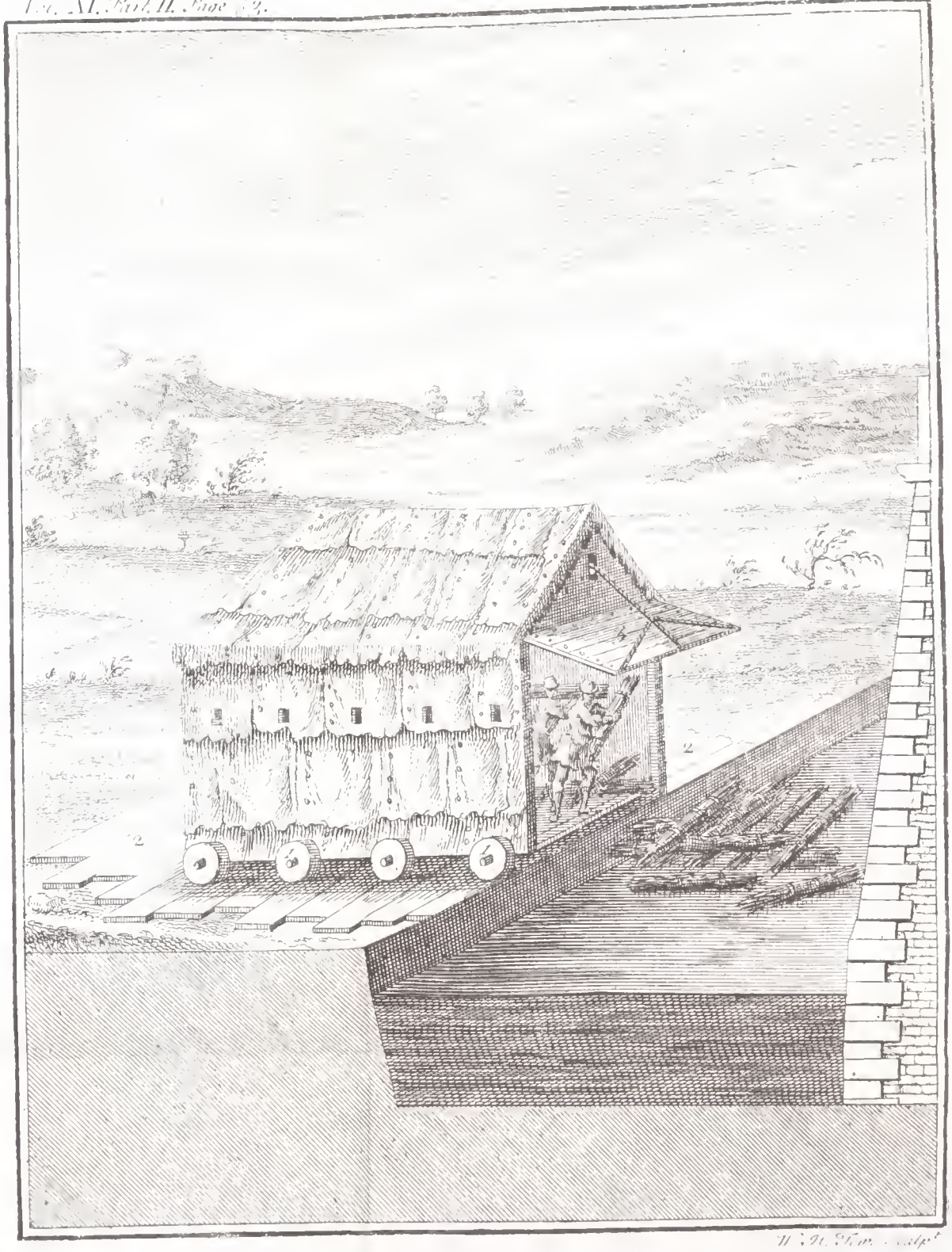
SECT. I.

The tortoiſe.

THE tortoiſe was a machine compoſed of very ſtrong and ſolid timber-work. The height of it to its higheſt beam, which ſuſtained the roof, was twelve feet. The baſe was ſquare, and each of its fronts twenty five foot. It was covered with a kind of quilted mattreſs made of raw hides, and prepared with different drugs to prevent its being ſet on fire by combuſtibles. This heavy machine was ſupported upon four wheels, or perhaps upon eight. It was called tortoiſe, from its ſerving as a very ſtrong covering and defence, againſt the enormous weight thrown down on it; thoſe under it being ſafe in the ſame manner as a tortoiſe under his ſhell. It was uſed both to fill up the foſſé, and for ſapping.

For the filling up of the foſſé, it was neceſſary to join ſeveral of them together in a line and very near one another. Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus by Alexander the Great, ſays, that he firſt cauſed three tortoiſes to approach, in order to fill up the ditch, and that afterwards he planted his rams upon the ſpace filled up, to batter the wall. This machine is often mentioned by authors. There were, without doubt, tortoiſes of different forms and ſizes.

PLATE



Tortoise for filling up the Fossé of a Besieged place.

PLATE XII. explained.

Tortoiſe for filling up the foſsé of a beſieged place.

THIS machine is diſtinctly enough deſcribed in the text: however it may not be improper to add, that it is believed, ſo enormous a weight could not be moved from place to place on wheels, and that it was puſhed forwards on rollers. Under theſe wheels or rollers the way was laid with ſtrong planks (2) to facilitate its motion, and prevent its ſinking into the ground, from whence it would have been very difficult to have removed it. The ancients have obſerved, that the roof had a thicker covering, of hides, hurdles, ſea-weed, &c, than the ſides, as it was expoſed to much greater ſhocks from the weight thrown upon it by the beſieged. It had a door in front (3), which was drawn up by a chain as far as was neceſſary, and covered the ſoldiers at work in filling up the foſsé with faſcines.

The machine called *Muſculus*, uſed by Cæſar in the ſiege of Marſeilles, was believed to be alſo a tortoiſe, but very low, and of a great length: it would be called in theſe days a wooden gallery. It is likely that its length was equal to the breadth of the foſsé. Cæſar cauſed it to be puſhed on to the foot of the walls, in order to demoliſh them by ſap. Cæſar however often diſtinguiſhes the tortoiſe from the *Muſculus*.

PLATE XIII. explained.

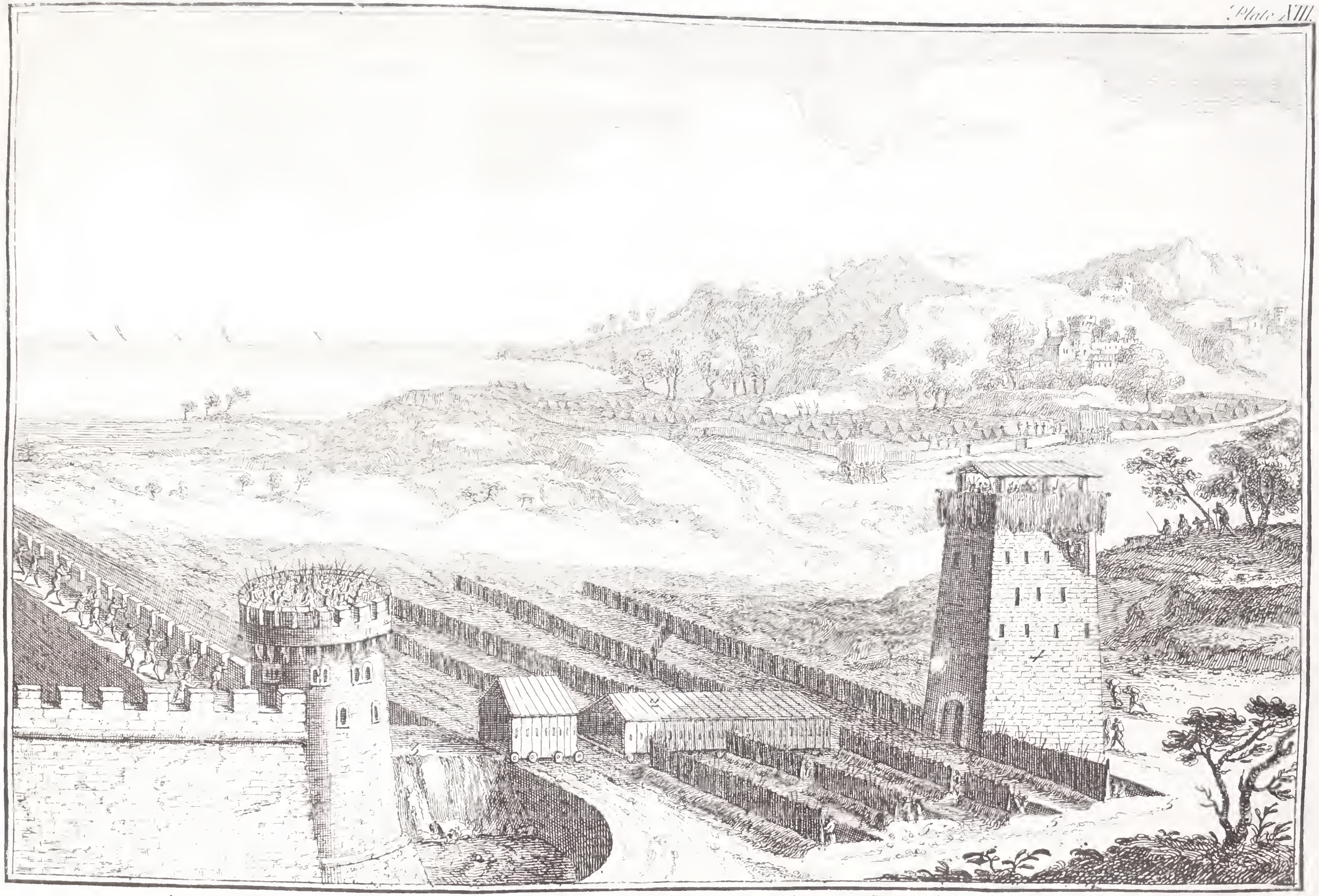
Cæſar's Muſculus, or wooden gallery, at the ſiege of Marſeilles.

THE Muſculus, though very little underſtood by modern authors, who have repreſented it variouſly, was undoubtedly a kind of tortoiſe, very low, and with a ſharp roof. Such was that of Cæſar at the ſiege of Marſeilles as in the plate (2). It was ſixty feet in length, and was moved forwards to the walls upon rollers, where it was fixed over the part of the ditch filled up (3). The tower of brick (4), which he built there, communicated with this muſculus and the trenches (5).

Cæſar ſays the planks of the roof were covered with bricks and mortar, over which hides were laid to prevent the mortar from diſſolving by the water, which the beſieged might pour down upon it; and to ſecure it from ſtones and fire, it was again covered over with thick quilted mattreſſes properly prepared: all this was done under mantles, (*vineis*) after which it was thruſt forwards on a ſudden from the tower to the walls.

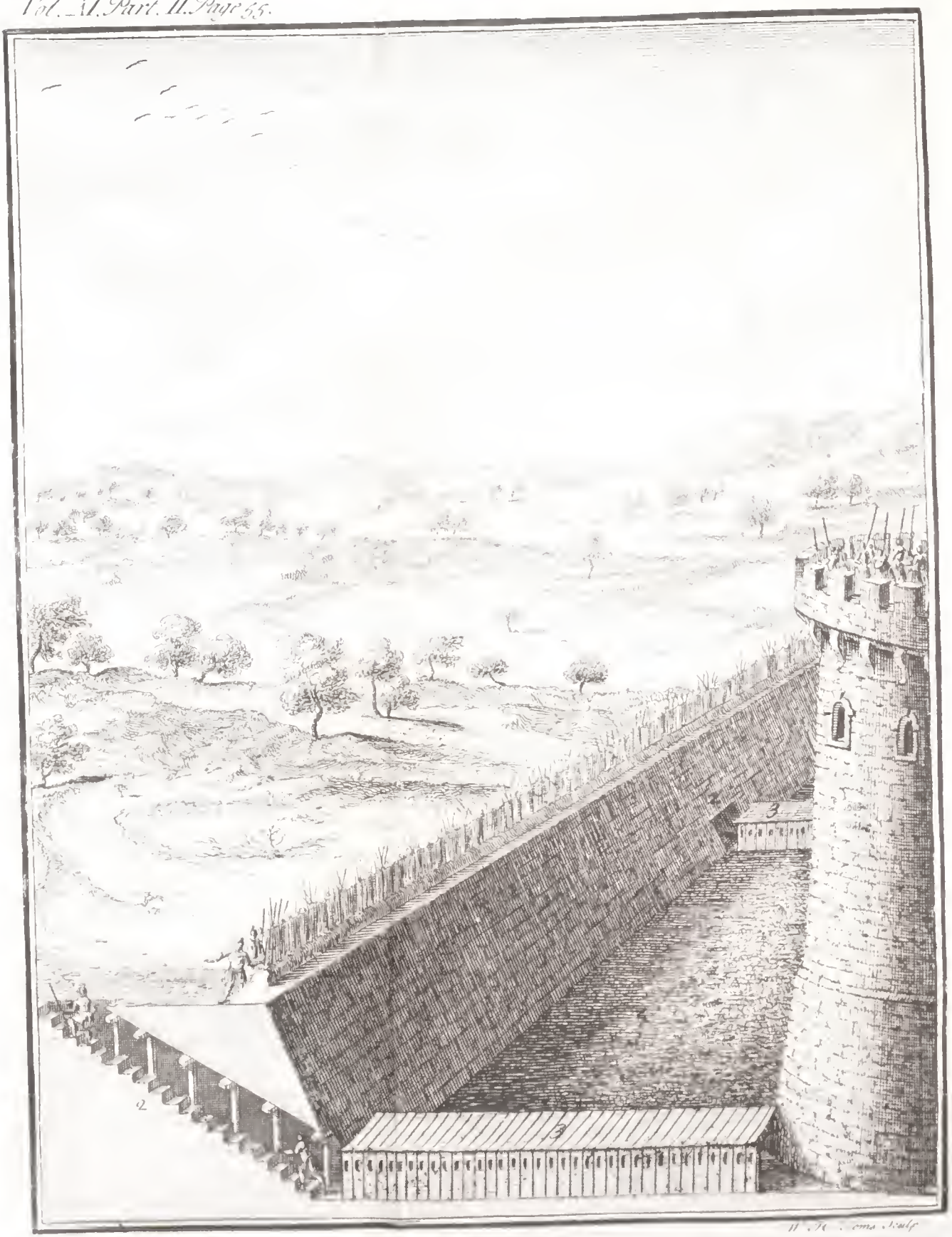
Beſides this, there was another kind of muſculus, that was uſed for levelling the ground, and laying the planks, on which the tortoiſes and moving towers were to advance to the foſsé; they were, like this, of greater length than breadth, and equal in breadth to the way they were to level,

PLATE



Cæsar's Mapalia, or Wooden Gallery, and Brick Tower at the Seige of Marseilles.

H. H. Toms Sculp.



Descent and Passage of the Fosse by the Ancients.

PLATE XIV. explain'd.

Deſcent and paſſage of the foſsés by the antients.

THE manner, in which the ancients filled up the foſsés of beſieged places, differed little from that of the moderns: for except the tortoiſe and muſculus, which the invention of artillery has occaſioned the latter to abandon, there is nothing practiſed now, that was not in uſe amongſt the ancients. What they called tortoiſes of earth were only trenches cut in the earth, and blinded at top in form of a gallery, from the laſt line covered with hurdles or faſcines interwove to the edge of the foſsé. It appears from hiſtory, that they had another method, when the foſsé was dry. They opened a ſubterraneous gallery or mine (2) into the foſsé, which they entered through an opening in the counterſcarp, where they erected a muſculus, or wooden gallery (3) of the whole breadth of the foſsé. Under this machine they worked at ſapping the wall.

There were alſo ſeveral other machines intended to cover the ſoldiers, called *crates*, *plutei*, *vineæ*, &c. that were uſed in ſieges, which I ſhall not undertake to deſcribe here, to avoid prolixity. They may be comprized in general under the name of mantles, *or ſheds*.

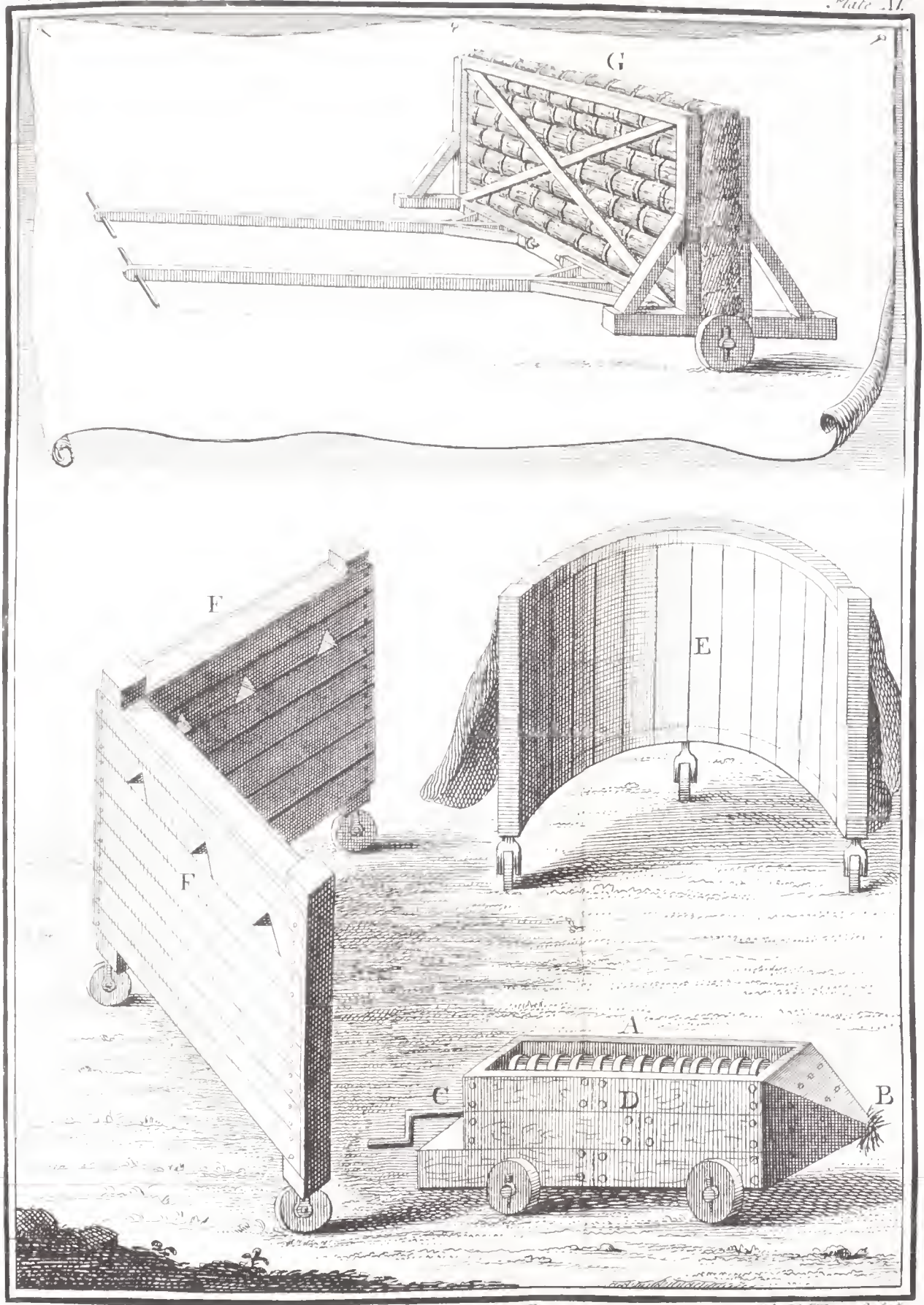
PLATE XV. explained.

The muſculus and pluteus of the ancients.

SOME authors, as Lipſius and Stewechius after Choul, have repreſented the muſculus of the ancients as in the figure A. Stewechius, ſays the Chevalier Follard, adorns it comically enough with a beard or whiſkers. It is plain, adds the ſame author, theſe writers do not know what they mean themſelves, though they conclude this a machine for demoliſhing walls, and give it as much as poſſible the form of a rat. If, continues he, I might venture a pleaſantry, I ſhould ſay that abundance of theſe animals were neceſſary for the execution of ſuch a deſign. They have put a handle to it C without which their rat would have no tail. As for the ſcrew D, I leave that, ſays he, to the more penetrating; for my part, it is above my comprehenſion. But whatever they imagined, it is plain, that Cæſar's muſculus was a wooden gallery to cover the troops in ſapping a wall, as in Plate XIII.

The figure marked E is the pluteus of the antients according to Vegetius. It was made of wood in a kind of ſemicircular form, and covered with hurdles of oſiers over which raw hides were laid. It moved upon three ſmall wheels, one in the centre, and two at the extremities. This deſcription is ſuppoſed to be erroneous, and that the pluteus was covered at top to defend the ſoldiers behind it againſt downright blows.

The



The Mapalia and Plutei of the Ancients.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

The figure marked F is a kind of modern pluteus, called a mantle. Its form was triangular, and it moved upon three wheels diſpoſed as the former. Mr. Follard conceives, the pluteus or mantle marked G of his own invention, would be of more ſervice in opening the trenches neareſt to a beſieged place. He ſays the faſcines ſhould be of oſiers, and five or ſix inches thick, and the height of the machine four or five feet by ſix long. The ſoldiers may eaſily puſh it before them, and cover themſelves behind it whilſt they work. The wheels he adds would make ſome noiſe, but that ſignifies little, whilſt it covers the workmen from the fire of the place.

Beſides the tortoiſe, the wooden machine I have been ſpeaking of, there was another compoſed of ſoldiers, which may be ranked in the number of machines of war. A body of ſoldiers, drawn up together, put their great ſhields, in the form of gutter-tiles, cloſe to each other over their heads. Well practiſed in this exerciſe, they formed ſo firm a roof, that whatever efforts the beſieged might make, they could neither break nor move them. Upon this firſt tortoiſe of ſoldiers, a ſecond was made to mount; and by this means they ſometimes roſe to an equal height with the walls of the place beſieged.

SECT.

SECT. II.

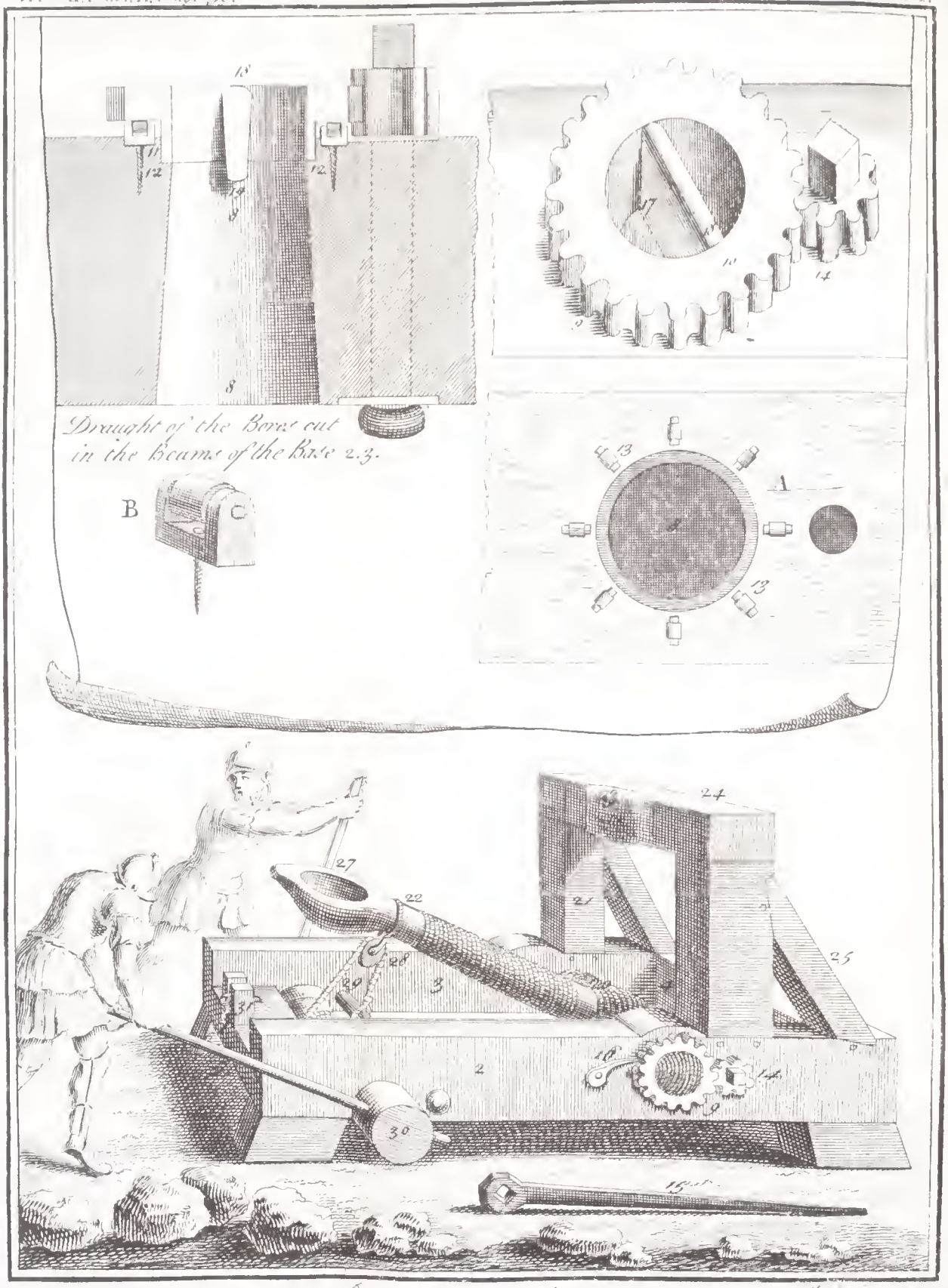
Catapulta. Baliſta.

I Join theſe two machines together, though authors diſtinguiſh them: but they alſo often confound them, and it would be difficult to ſettle exactly the difference. They were both intended for diſcharging darts, arrows, and ſtones. They were of different ſizes, and conſequently produced more or leſs effect. Some were uſed in battles, and might be called field-pieces, others were employed in ſieges, which was the uſe moſt commonly made of them. The baliſtæ muſt have been the heavieſt and moſt difficult to carry; becauſe there was always a greater number of the catapultæ in the armies. Livy, in his deſcription of the ſiege of Carthage, ſays, that there were an hundred and twenty great, and more than two hundred ſmall catapultæ taken, with thirty three great baliſtæ, and fifty two ſmall ones. Joſephus mentions the ſame difference amongſt the Romans, who had three hundred catapultæ, and forty baliſtæ, at the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

Theſe machines had a force, which it is not eaſy to comprehend, but which all good authors atteſt.

Vegetius ſays, that the baliſta diſcharged darts with ſuch rapidity and violence, that nothing could reſiſt their force. Athenæus tells us, that Ageſiſtratus made one of little more than two feet in length, which ſhot darts almoſt five hundred paces. Theſe machines were not

unlike



Battering Catapulta.

unlike our croſs-bows. There were others of much greater force, which threw ſtones of three hundred weight, upwards of an hundred and twenty five paces.

We find ſurprizing effects of theſe machines in Joſephus. "The darts and force of the "catapultæ deſtroyed abundance of people. "The ſtones from the machines beat down the "battlements, and broke the angles of the "towers. There was no phalanx ſo deep but "one of theſe ſtones would ſweep an whole "file of it from one end to the other. Things "paſſed this night that ſhewed the prodigious "force of theſe machines. A man who ſtood "by Joſephus, had his head taken off by a "ſtone at an hundred and ſeventy five paces "diſtance." It were better to ſuppoſe that the ſtone, which took off this man's head, was diſcharged from a machine at three hundred and ſeventy five paces diſtance; and the Greek ſeems to require this ſenſe, though the interpreters explain it otherwiſe: τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐσφενδονήθη σαδίων.

PLATE XVI. explained.

Battering catapulta.

THIS plate repreſents the form and conſtruction of a catapulta, that is ſuppoſed to carry an hundred weight, which may ſuffice as the doctrine of all the reſt to ſuch as carried twelve hundred and upwards, it being eaſy to encreaſe their powers.

The

The baſe is compoſed of two large beams (2) (3). The length of thoſe beams is fifteen diameters of the bore of the capitals, which meaſure will be explained when we deſcribe the capitals (9). At the two extremities of each beam two double mortiſes are to be cut to receive the eight tenons of the two croſs beams (4) (5), each of them four of the above diameters in length, without their tenons, obſerving to mark the center of them exactly by a line cut ſtrong in the wood (6). The croſs beam (5) muſt be hollowed a little on the upper ſide, or made not ſo thick as that at the other end (4), to give the greater bent to the tree or arm (22) of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

In the center of each of the beams of the baſe (2) (3), at the ſixth diameter of their length, a bore (8) perfectly round ſhould be cut ſixteen inches in diameter: theſe bores muſt be exactly oppoſite to each other, and ſhould encreaſe gradually to the inſide of the beams; ſo that each of them being ſixteen inches on the outſide towards the capitals (9), ſhould be ſeventeen and an half at the opening on the inſide; the edges to be carefully rounded off. We come now to the deſcription of the capitals (9), which are in a manner the ſoul of the machine, and ſerve to twiſt and ſtrain the cordage, that are its principle, or power of motion.

The capitals (9) are either of caſt braſs, or iron, each conſiſting of a wheel with teeth (10) of two inches and an half thick. The hollow or bore of theſe wheels ſhould be eleven inches and about a fourth in diameter, perfectly round and with the edges ſmoothed down. The in-

ward

ward ledge (11) muſt be four inches deep and one thick; but as that thickneſs would make it larger by one inch than the outſide bore of the beams (2) (3), they muſt be cut to the depth of four inches (12), ſo as to receive it exactly. As the friction would be too great, if the capitals rubbed againſt the beams by the extreme ſtraining of the cordage which draws them towards theſe beams, that inconvenience may be eaſily remedied by the means of eight little wheels (13) of an inch in diameter, and an inch and one ſixth in length, as in Fig. B, placed circularly, and turning upon axes as in Fig. A.

Theſe little wheels or cylinders of caſt braſs ſhould be round, and equal in their diameters, that the capitals may work equally on all ſides.

Upon this number of cylindrical wheels, the capitals (9) muſt be placed in the beams (2) (3), ſo that the cylinders do not extend to the teeth of the wheels, which muſt receive a ſtrong pinion (14). By the means of this pinion, the wheel of the capital is made to turn for ſtraining the cordage with the key (15). To the wheel a ſtrong ſtay (16) is annexed, and another of the ſame kind may be added, to prevent any thing from giving way through the extreme and violent force of the ſtrained cordage. Theſe precautions are neceſſary upon account of the cylindrical wheels, which, by entirely preventing the friction of the capitals, make them the more eaſy to give way through the extraordinary and almoſt inconceivable tenſion of the cordage. This muſt be ſtill greater in a catapulta carrying four hundred weight or upwards. In ſuch large machines, the

wheels

wheels ought to be multiplied, and for the greater precaution, a ſtrong ſtay added to every wheel. We come now to the *Capital-piece*, or piece within the capital, over which the cordage is folded, and which ſuſtains the whole force in ſtraining it to the proper height.

This capital-piece is a nut or croſs pin of iron (17) hammered cold into form, that divides the bore of the capitals exactly in two equal parts at their diameters, into which it is inſerted at the depth of about an inch. This piece or nut ought to be about two inches and one third thick at top (18), and rounded off and poliſhed as much as poſſible, that the cords folded over may not be hurt or cut by the roughneſs or edges of the iron. Its height ought to be eight inches, decreaſing gradually in thickneſs to the bottom (19), where it ought to be only one inch. It muſt be very exactly inſerted in the capitals: its depth of eight inches adds force to the engine, and prevents its giving way through the ſtraining of the cordage. Perhaps its being caſt with the capital, and of the ſame metal, might have an equal, if not a better effect.

After applying the two capitals to the bores of the two beams in the baſe, in an exact line with each other, and fixing the two croſs diametrical nuts or pieces, over which the cordage is to fold, one end of the cord is put through the void ſpace of one of the capitals in the baſe and made faſt to a nail within ſide of the beam. The other end of the cord is then carried thro' the bore in the oppoſite beam and capital, and ſo folded or wound over the croſs pieces of iron in the center of the two capitals till they are quite

quite full; the cordage forming a large ſkain (20). When this is done, the laſt end of the cord is tied to the firſt which I have mentioned. The tenſion or ſtraining of the cordage ought to be exactly equal, that is to ſay, the ſeveral foldings of cord over the capital pieces ſhould be equally ſtrained, and ſo near each other, as not to leave the leaſt ſpace between them. Aſſoon as the firſt folding or bed of cord has filled up one whole ſpace or breadth of the capital pieces, another muſt be carried over it; and ſo on, always equally ſtraining the cord till no more will paſs through the capitals, and the ſkain of cordage entirely fills them, obſerving to rub it from time to time with ſoap. The cord may alſo be carried thro' with both ends, taking it from the center.

At three or four inches behind the cordage thus wound over the capital pieces, two very ſtrong upright beams (21) are raiſed: theſe are poſts of oak fourteen inches thick, croſſed over at top by another of the ſame ſolidity. As this part of the machine is two or three inches behind the ſkain of cordage, it muſt have a ſmall obliquity towards the cordage, in ſuch a manner, that the arm or tree (22) fixed at the bottom, exactly in the center of the codage, half of which holds it on one ſide, and half on the other, it is neceſſary, I ſay, that the arm ſtrike with ſome obliquity againſt the cuſhion or ſtomacher (23), which muſt be placed exactly in the middle of the croſs beam (24). Without this obliquity the ſpring of the cordage would be ſomething abated from relaxing before the tree reached the croſs beam. The height of the upright beam (21) is ſeven diameters

ters and an half, and three inches, each propped behindwith very ſtrong props, fixed at bottom in the extremities of the baſe (2) (3). The croſs beam (24) muſt be propped in the ſame manner in the center (26). The upright and croſs beams, props, &c. in this part of the machine, ſhould be ſtrengthened, eſpecially in the joints, with double ſquares of iron of four inches broad, and a quarter of an inch thick, pinned with ſtrong pins, keyed at the end of them to keep them firm. Care muſt be taken to place the cuſhion or ſtomacher in the centre, as has been ſaid. It ſhould be covered with tanned Ox-hide and ſtuffed with hair, the arm ſtriking againſt it with inconceivable force.

When the Catapulta is to batter with ſtones, the bottom of the arm muſt be placed exactly in the center of the ſkain or cordage. This is the more important, becauſe, if it be not exactly in the middle, the tenſion would be unequal; and whatever cordage ſhould be more on the one than the other ſide, would infallibly break in ſtraining, which is worth noting. To prevent miſtakes in ſo important a circumſtance, a piece of wood, of the ſame bigneſs with the end of the tree or arm, might be fixed in the ſkain of cordage when formed. The ſame piece of wood might ſerve to mark the centre of the cords, in carrying them backwards and forwards through the ſpaces in the capitals.

The tree, arm, or *Stylus*, as Ammanius Marcellinus calls it, ſhould be of excellent aſh, the ſoundeſt that can be got. Its length is from fifteen to ſixteen diameters of the bore of the capitals. The end at bottom to be fixed in the middle of the ſkain is ten inches thick, by

fourteen broad: that is to ſay, it ſhould be narrower in the firſt than the ſecond dimenſion, to make it the ſtronger, and prevent its bending: for if the arm bends, it muſt have more breadth.

The bottom of the arm which the cords receive, muſt have theſe dimenſions, its edges being ſmoothed off; for without that precaution, they would fret or cut the cordage, which are of cat-gut. The reſt of the arm ſhould be made in an eliptical form, not ſo thick by an inch as the end fixed in the cords, and of the ſame breadth, to the place where it ſtrikes againſt the ſtomacher, which ought to be ſomewhat thicker, but flat, leaſt the violence of the ſtroke cut it in two: in the ſame place the arm ſhould be a little curve.

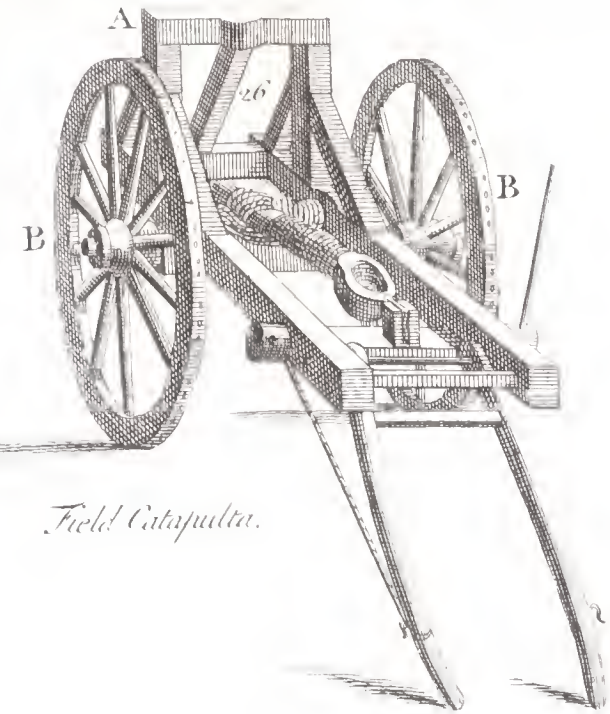
To ſtrengthen the arm or tree, of which the force of being diſcharged is every thing that can be conceived of moſt violent, it ſhould be wrapt round with a cloth dipt in ſtrong glue like the tree of a ſaddle, and bound very hard with waxed thread of the ſixth of an inch in diameter from the large end at bottom, almoſt to the top, as in the plate.

The force of this arm is entirely ſurprizing, when the trigger is ſtruck. The experiments Mr. Follard made of it in his catapulta convinced him of this. Though his machine threw only a weight of half a pound, the working of the arm in great machines might be judged from it. The antients who experienced the ſame every day, had no better expedient to prevent the arms of this kind of machine from breaking, than to make them of two pieces of wood of equal length. Theſe

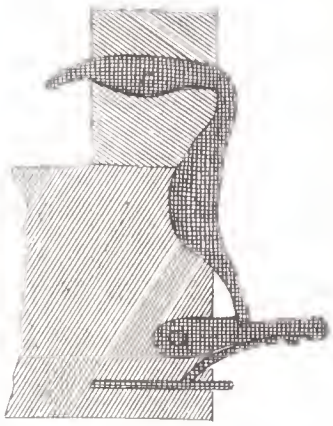
they joined together with abundance of art and care, and ſtrengthened with a ſtrong binding of wax cord. We proceed now to the manner of working the catapulta.

At the top of the arm juſt under the iron hand or receiver (27) a ſtrong cord is made faſt, with two loops to it twiſted the one within the other for ſtrength. Into theſe two loops the hook of the pulley (28) is put; this pulley ſhould be of braſs with double wheels. Upon occaſion, another may be hooked on at bottom and to the center of the cock or trigger. The cord (29) is then put through the wheels of the two pullies, and faſtened to the roll (30), round which in turning it divides itſelf. The roll ought to be placed in ſuch a manner that the end of the arm at top, to which the pulley is hooked, may almoſt touch it when the hand or receiver is come to its proper place at bottom. The cock or trigger (31) which ſerves as a ſtay, is then brought to it, and made faſt by its hook to the extremity of the hand, which is either in the form of a ſpoon, as in the plate, or of an iron hand, with three branches a little curve: in this the body to be diſcharged is put. If the machine is to throw flints, they are put into an oſier baſket, that exactly fits the hand or receiver: the pulley at the neck of the arm is then unhooked, and when the trigger is to let it off, a ſtroke muſt be given upon it with an iron bar or crow of about an inch in diameter; the arm then goes off with a force little unequal to that of a modern mortar. It is to be obſerved, that the tree or arm deſcribes an angle of ninety degrees, beginning at the cock, and ending at the ſtomacher or cuſhion. See

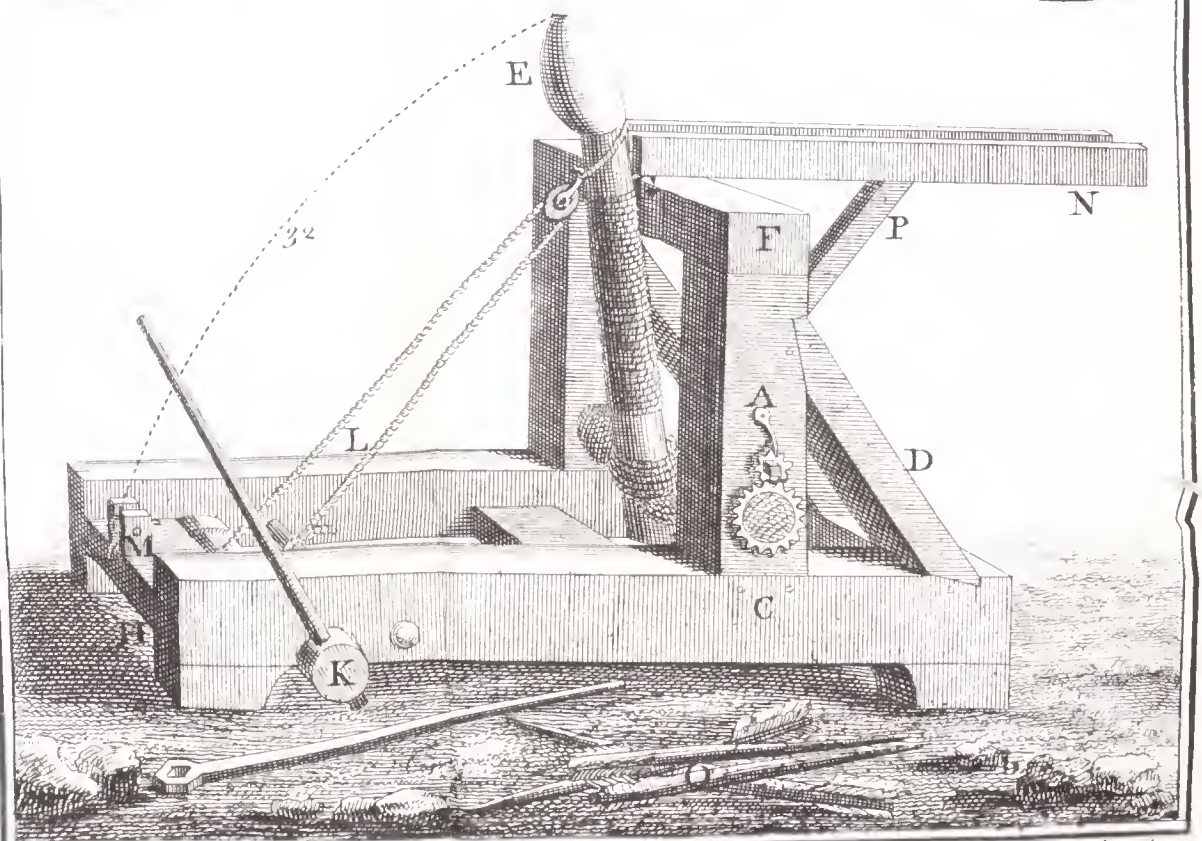
the



Field Catapulta.



Draught of the triager.



W. Te. Toms. Sculpt.

Battering Catapulta with its Capitals affixed, in its upright beams, and Canal for throwing great Darts, or many at a time.

the ſecond plate of the catapulta (32), to which this explanation refers in another inſtance or two.

My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, is only ten inches long by thirteen broad. It throws a ball of lead of a pound weight almoſt five hundred yards. This kind of machines carry a greater or leſs way according to the points of elevation given them, and their different degrees or beds of the cordage, which we have carried to thirty ſix. We believe, that a catapulta, according to the proportions here laid down, muſt carry at leaſt eight hundred yards. However, adds he, we do not pretend to advance this as a certainty, not having had opportunity to make the experiment.

PLATE XVII. explained.

Another battering catapulta with its capitals affixed in its upright beams, and canal for throwing great darts, or many at a time.

A A RE the two double beams of the capitals fixed upright upon the baſe C, and ſupported by the props D, with tenons and mortiſes, which ſerve to ſtrengthen them againſt the ſtroke of the arm E upon the croſs-beam F, which ſhould have its cuſhion or ſtomacher G.

When the arm E is to be brought down to the croſs-beam H, it is done by the roller K, round which runs the cable L. The cock M is then brought to it, which ought to be a little curve. This catapulta is ſcarce leſs ſimple than the former, and according to Mr. Follard,

might be of great uſe in beſieged places, if planted at bottom and behind the walls.

It was particularly uſed for throwing darts of an extraordinary ſize, and ſometimes ſeveral together; the other threw both ſtones and darts at once, and in very great numbers. The ſame author ſays, that he doubted at firſt whether the catapulta could do this or no, but was not long without diſcovering the myſtery. As there is ſomething curious in it, he gives the following explanation of it.

N is a canal of oak rounded within ſide in form of a gutter. Its length is ſix diameters of the capitals, and its breadth in proportion to the ſize of the large dart O, or bundle of darts to be diſcharged. Theſe darts were larger and longer, and more or leſs in number, according to the ſize of the machine.

When arrows were to be fired in the manner of cartridges, the end of the canal or gutter was placed in a cut of the depth of two inches in the center of the croſs-beam F, which it fitted exactly. It entered about two inches into the cuſhion or ſtomacher, ſupported by the prop P, to hinder it from bending or giving way. The upper part of the arm ought to be flat at the place where it ſtrikes the great dart or cartridge, and covered with a plate of ſteel, a quarter of an inch thick.

To diſcharge a bundle of large darts, they undoubtedly made uſe of a deal box of a round form, into which the bundle of arrows were put, tied with a very ſmall twine in the middle, to keep them in a right line and parallel with each other. This box was put into the canal or gutter, and projected ſix or ſeven inches

ches beyond the cuſhion towards the arm. It muſt have been very ſlight, looſely put together, and of little or no weight, except at the end ſtruck by the arm, which, it is ſuppoſed, might be an inch thick or upwards. Its length was according to that of the arrows, that is to ſay, it ſhould be about half as long, their length being two diameters and an half, (*of the bore of the capitals as in the former catapulta.*) The trigger was then ſtruck, and the arm coming flat againſt the box, drove it with the arrows to a very great diſtance. The wind took the pieces of the box, which ſoon ſeparated, and the arrows ſcattering and ſpreading in their flight, did terrible execution in the ranks of the enemy. My little catapulta, ſays Mr. Follard, from whoſe Polybius moſt of theſe extracts are made, diſcharged ten arrows in this manner, to the diſtance of almoſt an hundred paces, at eight degrees of elevation. The antients no doubt made uſe of the quadrant in planting their machines, as the moderns do for their mortars.

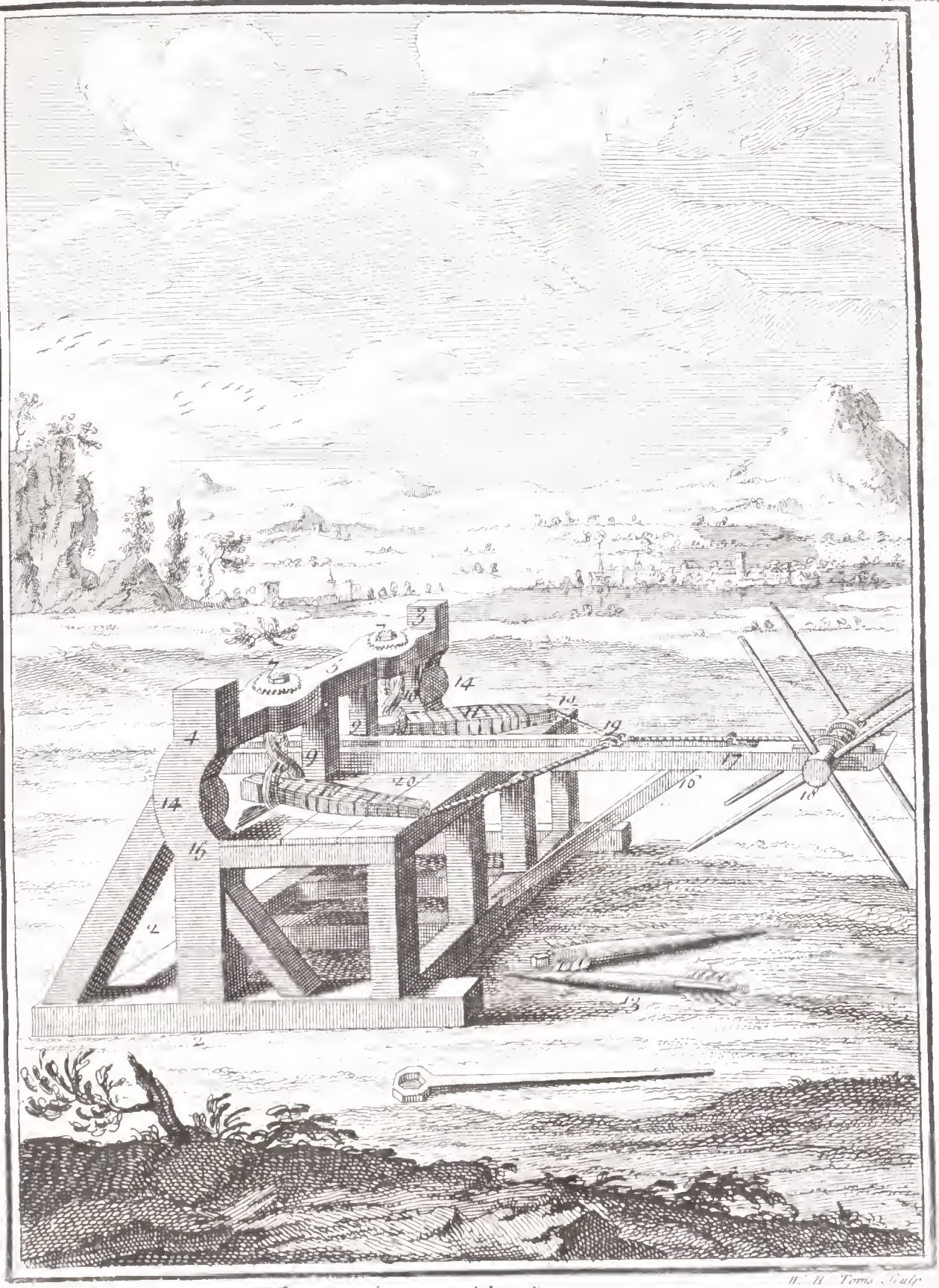
PLATE XVIII. explained.

The baliſta uſed in ſieges.

THE baliſta was uſed particularly to diſcharge darts of a ſurprizing length and weight, and often many ſmall ones together. It ſometimes carried leaden bullets of equal weight to the darts it diſcharged. This, ſays Mr. Follard, is plain from experiments, but we are convinced, adds he, that it was ſeldom uſed in the latter manner. Its form was not unlike that of a broken bow; it had two arms, but ſtrait and not curve like thoſe of the croſs-bow, of which the whole acting force conſiſts in bending the bow. That of the baliſta, as well as of the catapulta, lies in its cords; which will diſpenſe with our entering too circumſtantially into the deſcription of its different parts. The plate will explain infinitely better its ſtructure, and the powers that act it, than can be done in words.

The baliſta in the plate is ſuppoſed to be one that carried a dart of ſixty pound weight, of the length of three feet, nine inches, and three quarters, that is to ſay, according to Vitruvius, that the bores of the capitals were eight inches and three quarters in diameter, or one fifth of the length of the dart which the machine carried. It is compoſed of a baſe (2), two upright beams (3) (4) of fifteen diameters and five ſixths in height without the tenons; and of two croſs-beams (5) (6), ſeventeen diameters five ſixths long. (7) The capitals of the croſs-

beam



W. H. Toms Sculp.

The Ballista used in Sieges.

beam (5). (8) The capitals of the croſs-beams below (6); both which muſt be underſtood to anſwer exactly to thoſe above (7). Theſe two croſs-beams are propped and ſtrengthened by the ſquare poſts (9), which are five diameters in height without the tenons, and of equal thickneſs with the upright beams. The ſpace between the two poſts (9), and the upright beams (3) (4), is about ſeven diameters. (10) The two ſkains of cordage on the right and left. (11) The two arms engaged in the center of thoſe ſkains. The length of thoſe arms is ten diameters, including the two hooks at the extremity of each of them, in which the cord (12), or to ſpeak more properly, the great cable is faſtened like the ſtring of a croſs-bow. This cable ought to be of cat-gut, exceedingly ſtrained and twiſted together; whence it lengthens in charging, and contracts in diſcharging, and thereby gives ſome addition of force to the machine.

The ends of the arms have no receiver as the catapulta, and ought to be of one form, perfectly equal in their thickneſs, length, and weight, without bending when ſtrained to the utmoſt. The darts (13) ought to be as exactly equal in all reſpects as the arms, which muſt be placed in a parallel line, and in conſequence, on the ſame height in the center of the two ſkains of cordage (10).

The two upright beams (3) (4) ought to be curve at the place marked (14), where the arms ſtrike in diſcharging. In this hollow or curve place, the cuſhions (15) muſt be affixed. By the hollowing theſe upright beams in this manner, the arms are in a parallel line with

the cordage, and each defcribes a right angle, when ftrained to the utmoft in charging. It is of no great conſequence whether the arms of the baliſta ſtrike againſt the cuſhions with their ends or middles; ſo that the croſs-beams (5) (6), wherein the capitals (7) are affixed with the cordage, may be ſhortened as much as convenient without retrenching the height of the machine. This muſt ſuit the field-baliſta beſt.

The ſpace between the two poſts (9), which ought to be in the center between the two croſs-beams, where the tree (16) is inſerted, muſt be ſomething narrower than that tree, in order that cuts of two or three inches may be made in each ſide the poſts (9) to keep it in form. In this tree (16) a canal or gutter muſt be made in an exactly right line, to receive and guide the great dart. Its length is in proportion to the bending of the two arms with the cord (12): in the ſame manner the length of its canal is known, and the place where the nut of the cock or trigger (17) is to be fixed, to receive the cord or cable at the end of the arms, as the ſtring of a bow, in its center. This nut or hook holds faſt the cord, and the cock or trigger is of the ſame kind with that of the croſs-bow. In reſpect to the tree with the canal in it (16), it muſt be exactly of the ſame height with the cord (12), which ought to rub upon it: for if the cord were higher, it would not take the dart; and if it preſſed too much upon it, there would be a friction upon the tree with the canal in which the dart lies, that would leſſen the force impelling it.

At

At the two feet below the trigger is the roll or windlaſs (18), round which a cord turns with an iron hand or grappling (19) at the end of it. This grappling ſeizes the cord of the arms or bow in the center to charge the machine. It has two hooks, which are wider from each other than the breadth of the nut, that ought to have an opening in the middle like that of the croſs-bow, to receive the end of the dart againſt the cord, when ſeized by it.

The upright beams (3) (4), beſides their tenons and mortiſes at the baſe, were ſtrongly propped and ſtayed behind and before. Some authors, and even Vitruvius, give the machine a kind of table (20), upon which the tree (16) is partly ſupported; the height of which with the tree ought to be exactly equal with that of the cord (12). This table is ſuppoſed to have been intended only to ſupport the tree (16), which muſt have been a very large beam of ſixteen diameters and two feet in length, and of a breadth and thickneſs in proportion to the ſize of the dart it diſcharged. It is very natural to be of this opinion, if we conſider the vaſt force neceſſary in charging this machine, which was capable of bending the ſtrongeſt beam, if its thickneſs did not exceed its breadth.

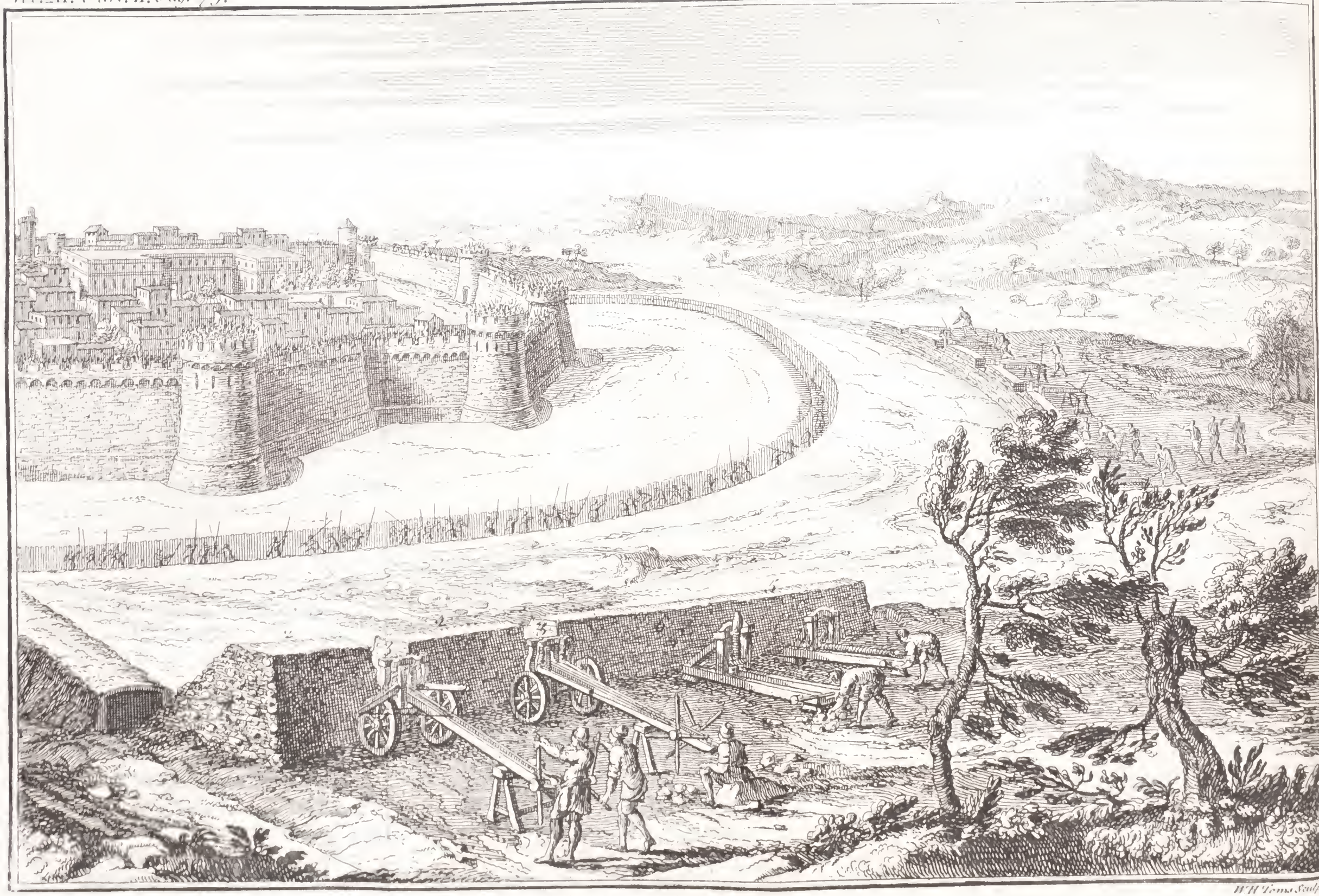
As to the powers neceſſary in charging this machine, it is certain that thoſe which carried darts or beams of an extraordinary ſize, beſides ſeveral wheels with teeth for twiſting the cordage in the capitals, muſt have uſed the roll (18), with ſeveral double-wheeled pulleys, and perhaps the windlaſs, for bending the

arms,

arms, and bringing the cord (12) to the ſtay or nut of the cock or trigger: after this the great dart was laid in the canal cut along the tree (16). Procopius tells us, *De Bell. Goth. c.* 28, that becauſe feather-wings could not be put to theſe arrows, the antients uſed pieces of wood ſix inches thick, which had the ſame effect. Under the name of baliſta, Vitruvius, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 17. gives us the proportions of the capitals of the catapulta, and conſequently of the whole machine, by the weight of the ſtones it diſcharged; how juſtly, the ingenious commentator upon Polybius refers to be examined by better judges. The paſſage is as follows.

"The catapulta, that throws a ſtone of two "pounds, ought to have the bores of its capi- "tals five inches wide. If the ſtone be four "pounds, they muſt be from ſix to ſeven in- "ches: if ten pounds, eight: if twenty "pounds, ten inches: if forty pounds, twelve "inches and three quarters: if ſixty pounds, "thirteen inches and one eighth; if fourſcore "pounds, fifteen inches; if an hundred and "twenty pounds, eighteen inches and an half: "if an hundred and ſixty pounds, two feet "five inches: if two hundred pounds, two "feet ſix inches: if two hundred and ten "pounds, two feet ſeven inches: if two hun- "dred and fifty pounds, two feet eleven inches "and an half."

PLATE



W.H. Toms Sculp.

Batteries of Balistas and Catapultas.

PLATE XIX. explained.

Batteries of baliſtas and catapultas.

MR. Follard proves the batteries in this plate to be of the form of thoſe of the antients from a part of Trajan's column, a plate of which he has inſerted in his Polybius.

(2) A battery of baliſtas.

(3) The embrazures through which the baliſtas diſcharge.

(4) The breaſtwork or covert for the men that worked the machines; which muſt undoubtedly have been much higher than thoſe of the modern batteries, becauſe the timbers of the baliſta uſed in ſieges were very high. They did not make theſe works ſo thick as we do, and raiſed them higher, proportioning their thickneſs only to their height. Neither is it to be doubted, but that they made them ſometimes of ſmall beams laid a-croſs each other at equal diſtances, filling up the ſpaces with earth and turf.

The batteries of catapultas (5) are not ſo well known, nothing being ſaid of the conſtruction of them in hiſtory; but if we conſider attentively the manner in which they diſcharged, it muſt be agreed, that the antients were under the neceſſity of placing them behind ſuch a work, as the moderns cover their batteries of mortars with; and that with no addition except in the height, as in thoſe of the baliſta. This is evident to every man's common ſenſe; it being utterly impoſſible to

invent

invent any other method for covering theſe machines from the view of the beſieged in uſing them. The upper beam of the catapulta was very high, which made it neceſſary to raiſe the work or covert (6) in proportion.

The ingenious commentator upon Polybius, who treats the baliſta and catapulta with great extent, tells us their force was very near equal to that of artillery. He prefers the uſe of the latter, for many very ſolid reaſons, to that of the mortar; which, he ſays, it would ſoon baniſh from armies, if the ignorance of its effects and the prejudice of cuſtom, did not oppoſe.

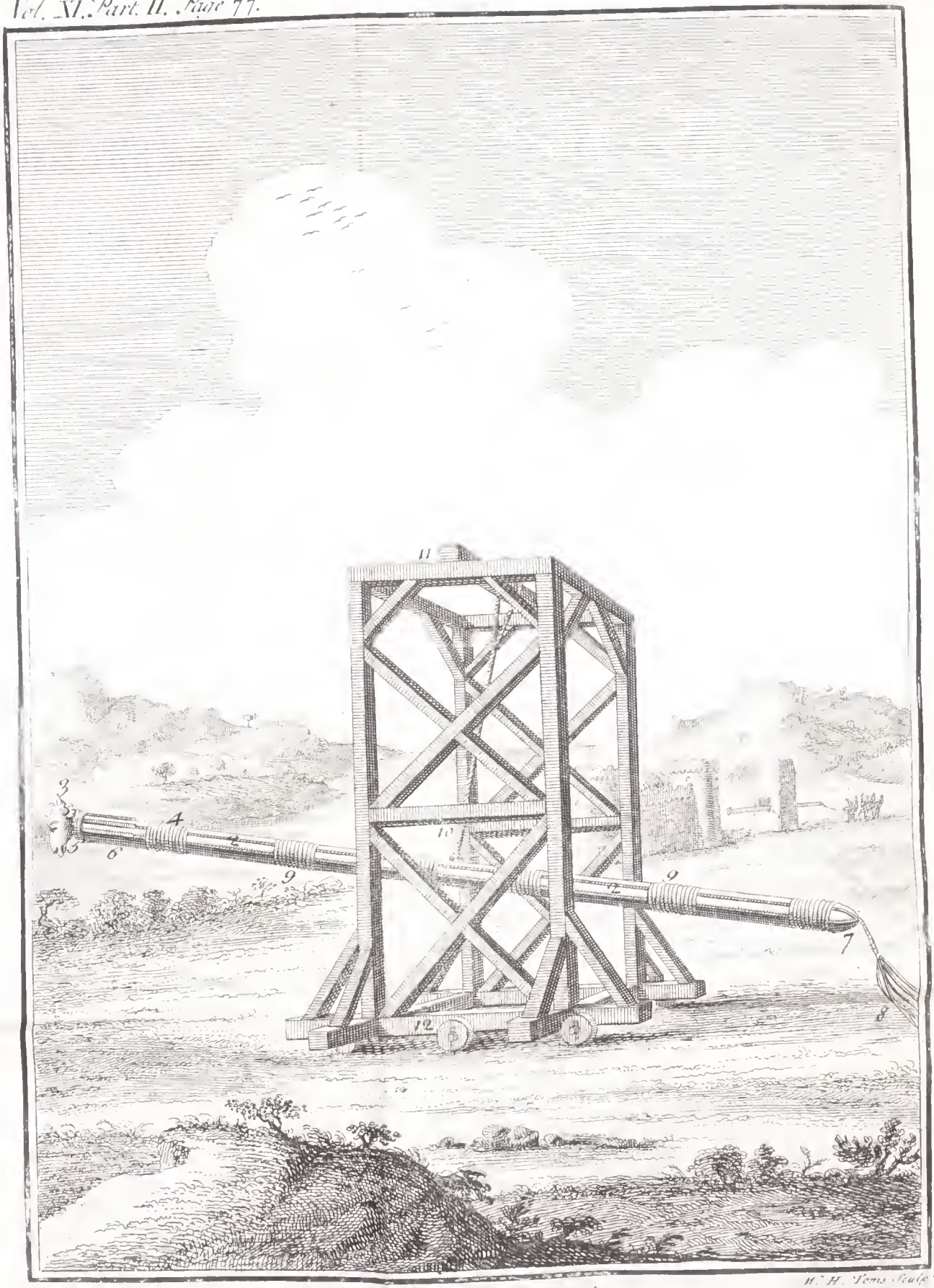
SECT. III.

The ram.

THE uſe of the ram is very ancient, and the invention of it aſcribed to different people. It ſeems difficult, and hardly worth the trouble to diſcover the author of it.

The ram was either ſlung or not ſlung.

The ſwinging ram was compoſed of a large beam of oak, reſembling a ſhip's maſt, of prodigious length and thickneſs, with the end armed with an head of iron proportioned to the body, and in the ſhape of a ram's, from whence it had its name, becauſe it ſtrikes againſt the walls, as a ram doth with his head againſt all he encounters. This ram's bigneſs ſhould be conformable to its length. Vitruvius



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Battering Ram Suspended.

us gives that he mentions four thouſand talents in weight, that is to ſay, four hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds *, which is not very exorbitant. This terrible machine was ſuſpended and balanced equally, like the beam of a pair of ſcales, with a chain or large cables, which ſupported it in the air in a kind of building of timber, which was puſhed forwards upon the filling up of the foſsé to a certain diſtance from the wall, by the means of rollers or wheels. The building was ſecured from being ſet on fire by the beſieged by ſeveral coverings, with which it was caſed over. This manner of working the ram ſeems the moſt eaſy, and requires no great ſtrength. The heavieſt body ſuſpended in the air may be moved with inconſiderable force.

PLATE XX. explained.

Battering ram ſuſpended.

(2) THE ram.

(3) The form of its head, according to all the monuments Greek and Roman, made faſt to the enormous beam by four bands or fillets of iron, of four feet in length. At the extremity of each of theſe bands (4) was a chain (5) of the ſame metal, one end of which was faſtened to an hook (6), and at the other extremity of each of theſe chains was a cable

* *The Roman pound weighed leſs than the French by almoſt a quarter.*

very

very firmly bound to the laſt link: theſe cables ran the whole length of the beam to the end of the ram (7), where they were all made as faſt together as poſſible with ſmall cordage.

At the end of theſe cables another was affixed, compoſed of ſeveral ſtrong cords platted together to a certain length, and then running ſingle (8). At each of theſe ſeveral men were placed, to balance and work the machine. To ſtrengthen the ram, it was bound with ſtrong cords from two feet to two feet, the whole length of the beam.

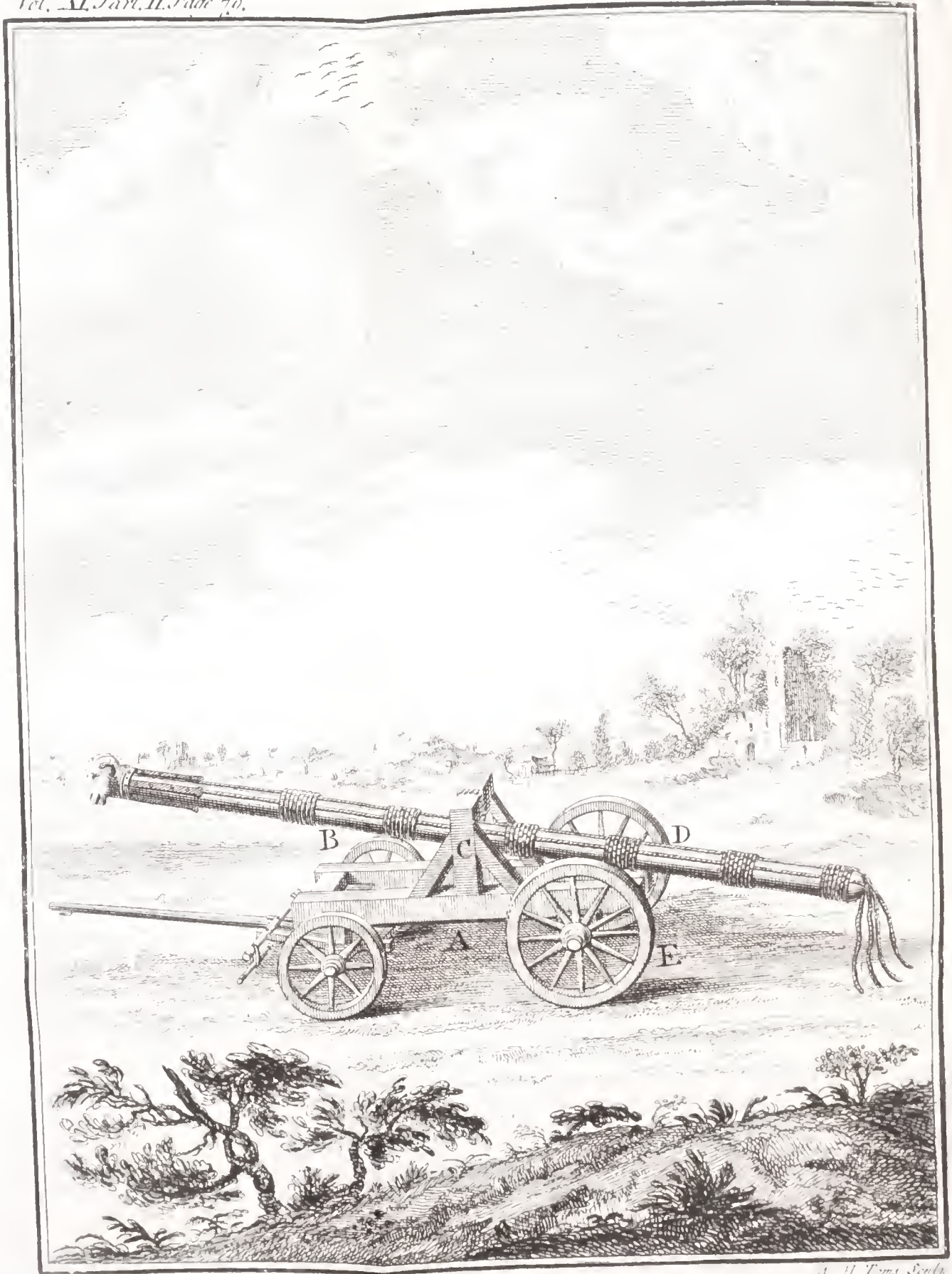
The thickneſs of this terrible machine, as Joſephus calls it, was in proportion to its length.

(10) The chains or cables by which it hung to the croſs-beam (11) upon the top of the frame of very ſtrong timbers.

The baſe (12) was not ſuch as Vitruvius and Joſephus repreſent it, ſays Mr. Follard, but an oblong ſquare of thirty or forty feet, and ſometimes more, in length, by more or leſs in breadth, according to the length of the ram.

It was planted, the frame being firſt well covered in the manner of the tortoiſe, upon the part of the foſsé filled up, and was worked by men behind the blinds of the trench next the counterſcarp; the batteries of baliſtas and catapultas from the ſide of the counterſcarp, the moving towers, and cavaliers, all covering the workmen, by clearing the works of the beſieged.

But



A. H. Toms Sculp.

Carriage of the Battering Ram.

But it is not ſo eaſy to comprehend how theſe rams were carried from place to place. For it is not to be imagined, that beams of ſuch immenſe thickneſs and extraordinary length could be found wherever there was occaſion for them; and it is certain that armies never marched without theſe machines. The Chevalier Follard, for want of information in this point from the writers of antiquity, conjectures, that they carried this ram-beam upon a four-wheel carriage of a particular form, compoſed of very ſtrong timbers; the beam ſuſpended ſhort to a ſtrong ſtay or croſs-beam in form of a gibbet (as in Plate XXI.) powerfully ſuſtained by all the wood-work capable of reſiſting the moſt violent ſhocks, and the whole joined and ſtrengthened well with bindings and plates of iron.

PLATE XXI. explained.

Carriage of the battering ram.

A THE carriage according to Mr. Follard.
B The ram tied up ſhort to the croſs-beam, laid over two others in form of a gibbet C.

As it muſt have been very difficult to carry beams of this great length thro' deep and narrow defiles and hollow ways, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to have carried them in any other manner than ſlung ſhort to a croſs-beam, as in the plate, in order to their being either raiſed or lowered on the ſides D E, according to occaſion, and the nature of the ways.

The

The ſame author thinks the figure of this carriage a ſufficient explanation of the manner in which the ancients muſt neceſſarily have tranſported theſe machines from place to place; which he ſubmits to the reader's judgment.

There was another kind of ram which was not ſuſpended or ſlung. We ſee upon the column of Trajan the Dacians beſieging ſome Romans in a fortreſs, which they batter with a ram worked only by ſtrength of arms. They are not covered with any thing, ſo that both the ram and thoſe who work it, are expoſed to the darts of the beſieged. It could not in this method of uſing it produce any great effect.

PLATE

I L K P

M R S N V R S

T P Y R q q

X

A H G F B C C E H D D F B

W. H. Toms Sculp.

Battering Ram not Suspended.

PLATE XXII. explained.

Battering ram not ſuſpended.

A TORTOISE for the ram according to the antients *.

B The two ends of the ram out of the tortoiſe, which ran upon a chain of little wheels.

C The canal or groove cut in the great beam.

D Soldiers working the ram in the tortoiſe by the cordage at each end E.

F Cordage faſtened to the ram and the croſs-beam G, to ſtop the ram, and prevent its quitting its canal or groove in being puſhed backward and forward.

H Roller, with its cordage and pulley at top, for raiſing the ram, and placing it upon its canal.

Powers for moving the ram explained.

I Ram upon its canal and chain of little wheels before quite let down.

L Ring in which the cordage is faſtened that ſtop the ram at a certain proper diſtance.

* *Mr. Rollin ſeems to have been led into a miſtake, in reſpect to this kind of ram, by the plate of it in Mr. Follard's Polybius; in which it was neceſſary to give a view of the inſide of the tortoiſe, to ſhew the manner of working it by the ſoldiers. The very name of tortoiſe, as well as the front, and part of the roof and ſides, covered againſt the machines and fires of the beſieged, ſhew, that it was not* open, (*as he ſuppoſes*) *but covered like other tortoiſes; otherwiſe, as he obſerves,* it could have been of very ſmall, *or rather of no,* uſe againſt the enemy.

M Draught of the ram, and its canal or groove N at length.

O Draught of the little cylinders, that turn upon their axes, fixed in two bands of iron, each of a ſingle piece P, which are held at due diſtance, and parallel to each other for the moving of the wheels by the croſs-pieces Q.

R Pullies to facilitate the motion of the two cables S faſtened to the two croſs-pieces at the extremities T of the wheels, which put the ram in motion.

V Axis, or pin of iron put in a bore, made in the centre of one of the beams, which ſupport the ram, for turning it, and battering the wall in different places.

X Croſs-view of the wheels between the ram and the groove.

Y Plan of the little cylinders or wheels, as fixed by the axis in the iron frames or bands P.

It has been queſtioned whether the rams, fixed in the moving towers, or in a kind of tortoiſe, were ſlung or not, and there are ſtrong reaſons on both ſides. My plan does not admit my entering into this diſpute.

I ſhall preſently relate the prodigious effects of the ram. As it was one of the machines that hurt the beſieged moſt, many methods were contrived to render it uſeleſs. Fire was darted upon the roof that covered, and the timbers that ſupported it, in order to burn them with the ram. To deaden its blows, ſacks of wool were let down againſt the place

at

at which it was levelled. Other machines were oppoſed againſt it to break its force, or to turn aſide its head, when battering the works. Abundance of means were employed to prevent its effects. Some of them may be ſeen in the ſieges I have cited in the beginning of this paragraph. Joſephus relates a ſurprizing action of a Jew, who, at the ſiege of Jotaphat, threw a ſtone of an enormous ſize upon the head of the ram with ſuch violence, that he looſened it from the beam, and made it fall down. He leaped afterwards from the top of the wall to the bottom, took the head from the midſt of the enemies, and carried it back with him. He received five arrows in his body, and notwithſtanding thoſe wounds, boldly kept in his poſt, till through loſs of blood and ſtrength, he fell from the wall, and the ram's head with him, with which he would never part.

De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 16.

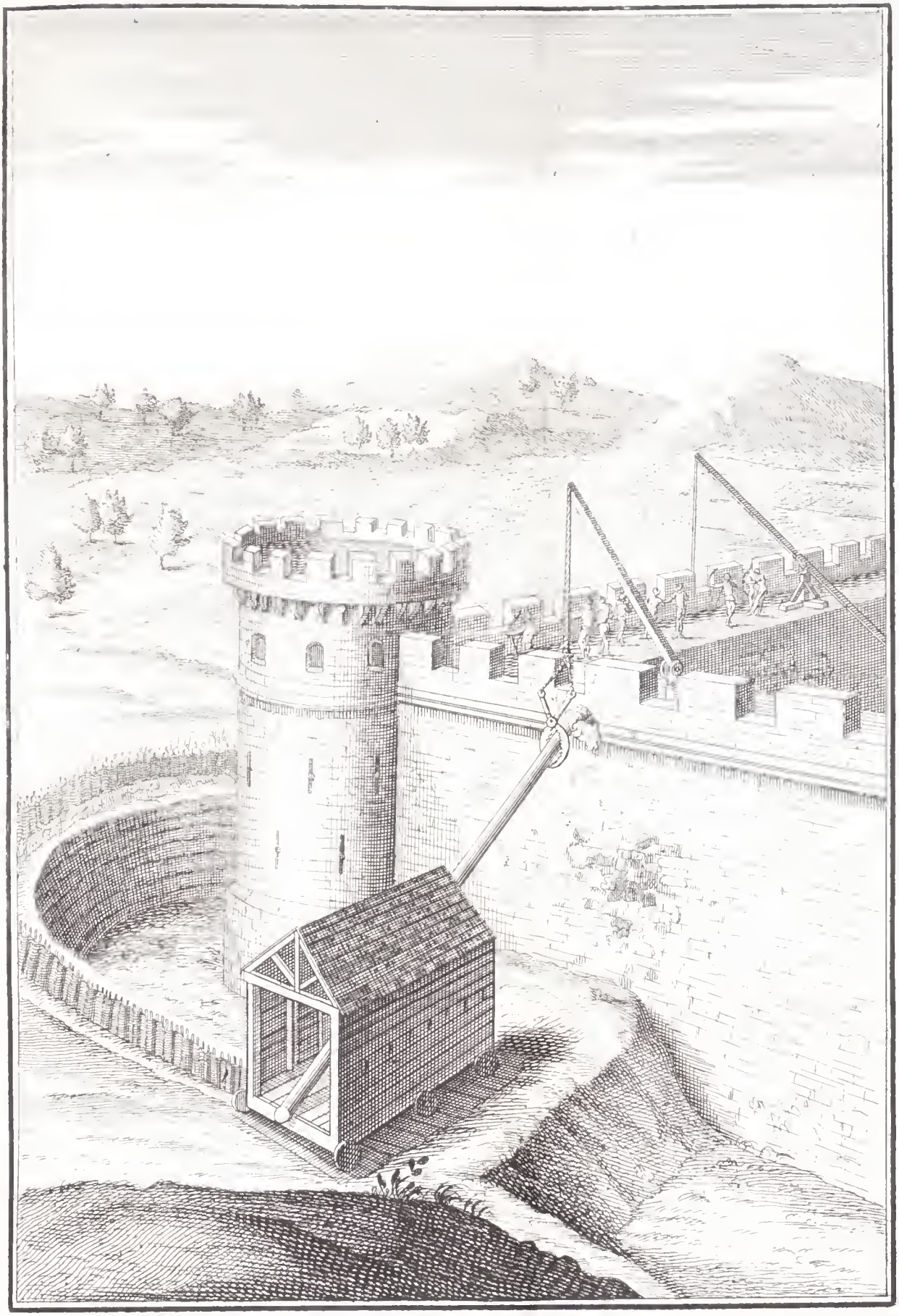
PLATE XXIII. explained.

The corvus (*crow or crane*) *with nippers for ſeizing the battering ram.*

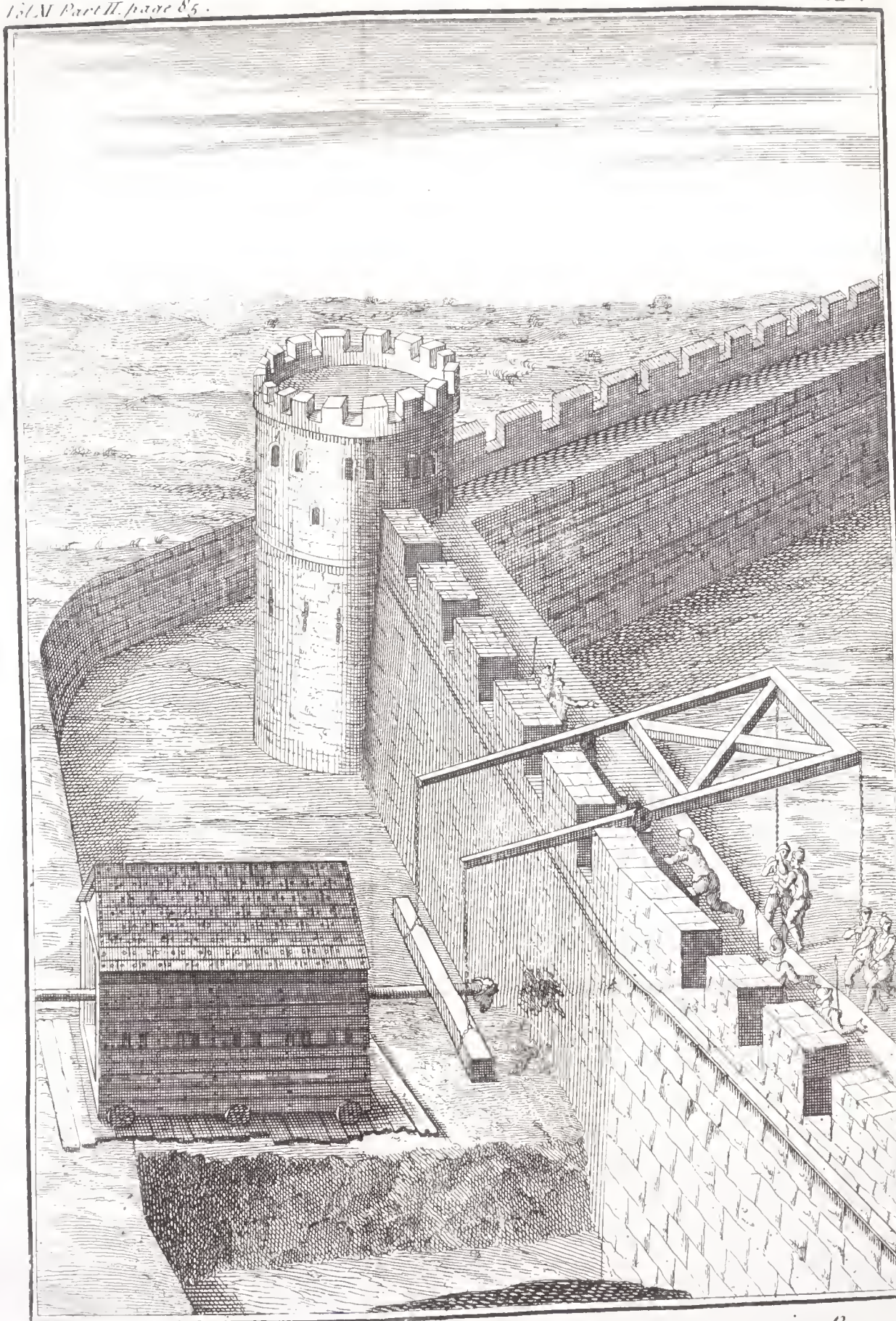
THE ancients called many different machines by the name of corvus, (crane) the invention of which is aſcribed to ſeveral, and amongſt others to Archimedes; but that opinion is refuted by the teſtimony of authors, ſome of whom aſcribe it to Chariſtion at the ſiege of Samos, two hundred and twenty years before that of Syracuſe. If we may believe Quintus Curtius, neither Archimedes, nor Chariſtion, had any ſhare in this invention, the Tyrians having uſed the ſame machine againſt Alexander the Great, long before either of them came into the world. The ſeveral ſpecies of it are inſerted in this place, and at Chapter III, that treats of the navies of the antients.

The plate repreſents the corvus with nippers or claws, that have teeth, and opened and ſhut like ſciſſars, to ſeize the ram, or any thing, between them. They were uſed in many ancient ſieges, and particularly in that of Byzantium by the emperor Severus. Dion ſays, that the beſieged had *corvi* (*harpagones*) with iron claws, which carried off whatever they faſtened upon with ſurprizing velocity. The plate ſufficiently explains the doctrine of the machine, which is of the nature of the ballance and leaver.

PLATE



Corvus (Crow or Crane) with nippers for seizing & Battering Ram



Double Cervus for Crane for breaking the blow of the Battering Ram.

PLATE XXIV. explained.

Double corvus *(or crane) for breaking the blow of the battering ram.*

THIS machine was uſed at the famous ſiege of Platæa. Thucydides ſays: "They "made uſe of this artifice: They faſtened a "large beam by the two ends to long iron "chains. Thoſe chains were at the ends of "two long timbers, that projected over the "wall. As the ram was thruſt forward to "batter it, they raiſed the beam in the air, "and then let it fall croſs-wiſe with its whole "weight upon the head of the ram, which "rendered its blow ineffectual."

Lipſius is not in the wrong for reckoning this machine amongſt the corvi or cranes. It was two cranes, as in the plate, with their extremities within the walls. They turned upon their axes on the ſame line, at ſomething leſs than the diſtance of the beam ſuſpended, and broke the blows of the ram, in raiſing up the beam, and letting it fall upon it. There are many examples of this machine to be found in hiſtory.

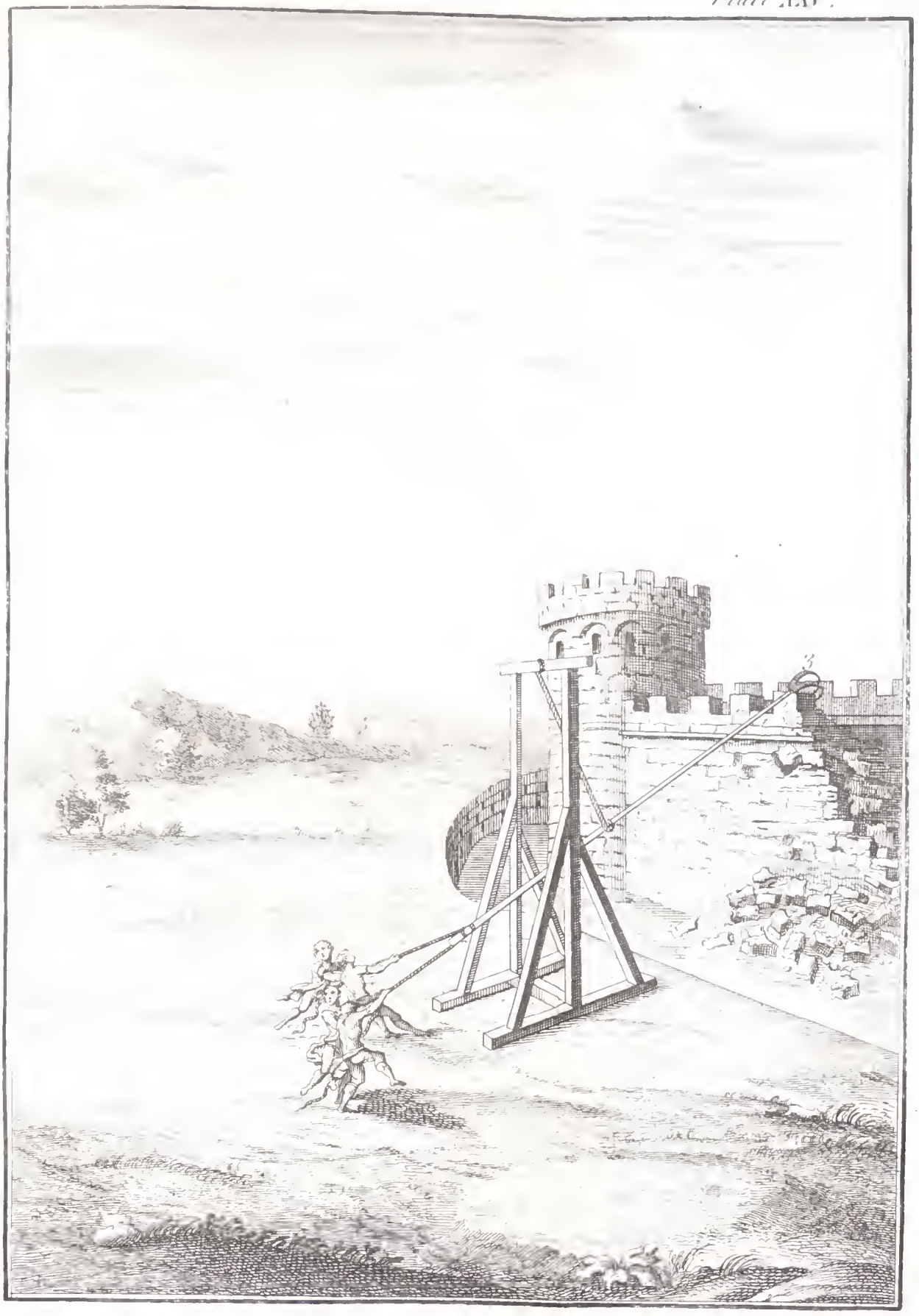
PLATE XXV. explained.

Corvus or crane for demoliſhing walls.

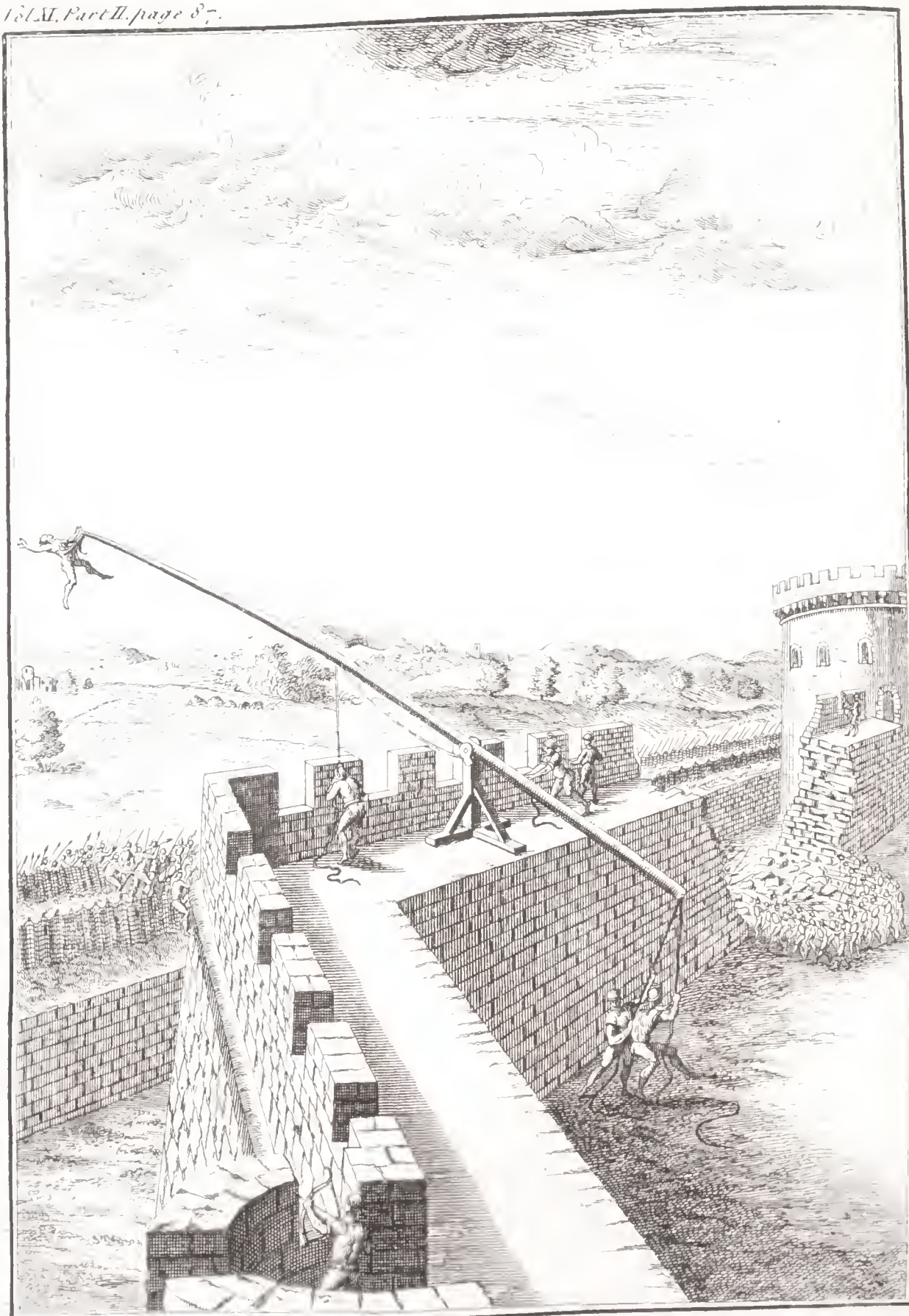
VItruvius ſpeaks of the *demoliſhing corvus* of Diades, which ſeems to be the ſame machine Vegetius calls a tortoiſe. Within this tortoiſe were one or two pieces of wood made round and very long for reaching a great way. At the end (3), they had ſtrong hooks of iron, and were ſlung or ſuſpended upon an equilibrium like the rams. They were applied either to the battlements or the parts of the wall looſened by the ram to pull them down.

Cæſar mentions this machine in his commentaries, where he ſays, "that the Gauls, "beſieged in Bourges, turned aſide the hooks, "with which the ruins of the works were "pulled down, and after having ſeized them "with their machines, drew them up to the "tops of the walls."

Plate LXV.



Cercus (or Crane) for demolishing Walls.



Corvus (or Crane) with Claws to take up men in scaling or upon assaults

PLATE XXVI. explained.

Corvus (*or crane*) *with claws, to take up men in ſcaling, or upon aſſaults.*

THE machine mentioned by Tacitus in the war of Civilis was a real corvus, the ancients having given it that name. The Romans, when attacked in their camp by the army of that rebel, made uſe of all the artifices invented by the ancients for the defence of the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified cities. "As the "Romans were ſuperior in addreſs aud experi- "ence, ſays that author, they oppoſed the in- "ventions of the enemy with others of their "own, and made a pendent machine, which "being let down, catched up the aſſailants, "and threw them with a ſudden turn upon "the ramparts." Many may imagine this a very myſterious machine, but the plate ſufficiently ſhews that nothing is leſs ſo. Vitruvius is of the ſame opinion, who ſays, *As to the crane for hoiſting up men, I do not think it neceſſary to ſay any thing, being perfectly eaſy to form, and uſually made by the ſoldiers themſelves.* I am ſurprized, ſays Mr. Follard, that Tacitus ſhould call ſo known a machine *an invention* in the above cited paſſage, when Polybius, and all the hiſtorians after him, tell us, that Archimedes uſed it at the ſiege of Syracuſe. After having mentioned the loſſes which the Romans ſuſtained by the great machines of Archimedes, Polybius adds, "without inclu- "ding thoſe occaſioned by the iron hooks, "which catched up the troops, and either

" daſhed them againſt the ground, or plun-
" ged them into the ſea."

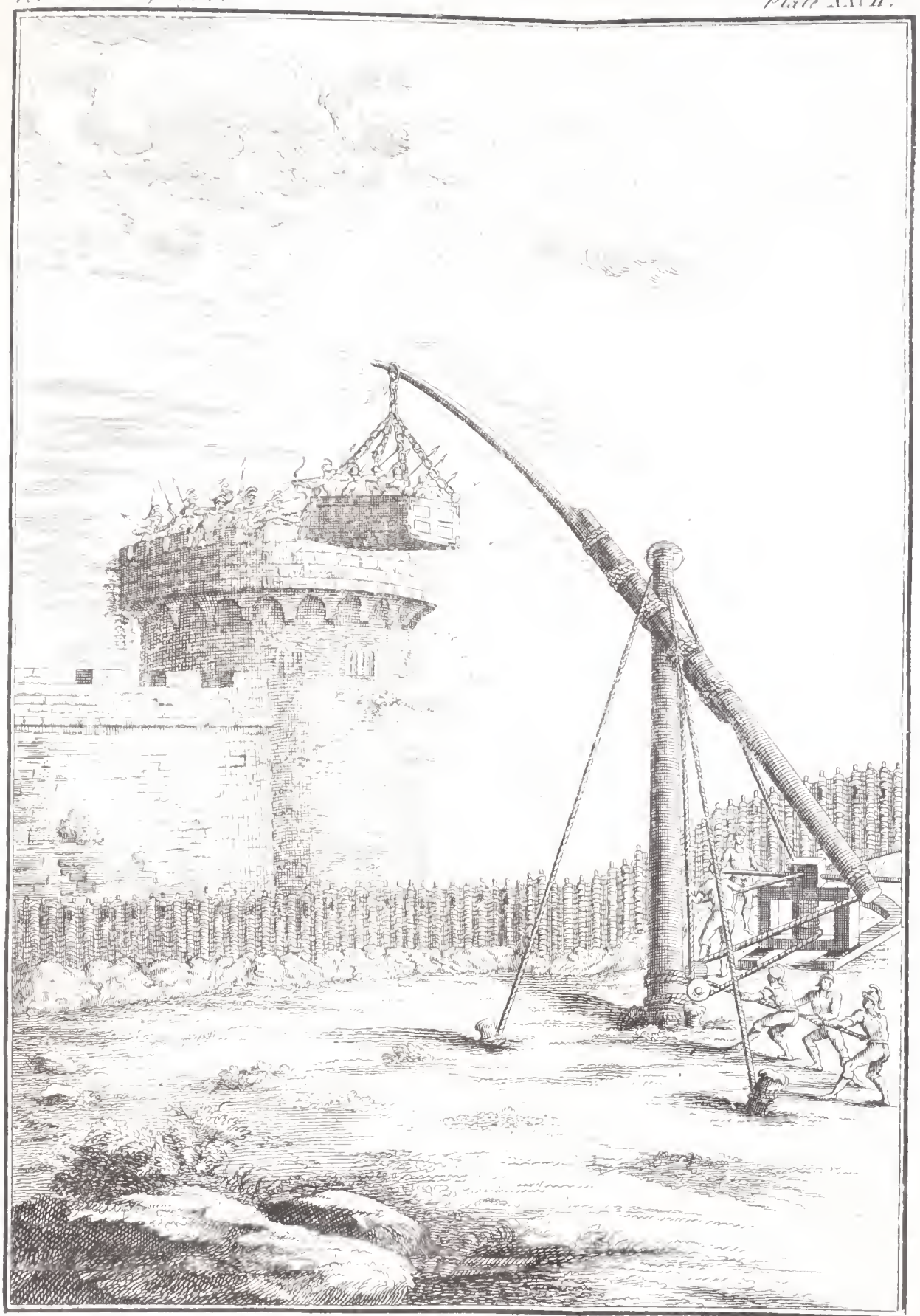
PLATE XXVII. explained.

Corvus (*or crane*) *with a cage, or the tellennon uſed by the ancients for lifting men to the top of works.*

THE tellennon, as Vegetius repreſents it, is very ſeldom mentioned in the ſieges of the ancients. The machine ſuſpended muſt have been of a ſquare form with a door in front of it to let down as a bridge for paſſing to the wall. The tellennon of Vegetius is manifeſtly ſuch as repreſented in this plate, which ſufficiently explains the nature of it.

The machine uſed by Herod to diſlodge a great number of robbers who had fled into the caverns of certain rocks and mountains was of this kind: the paſſage of Joſephus is worthy the reader's curioſity.

" Theſe caverns, ſays he, were in vaſt
" mountains inacceſſible on all ſides. There
" was no approaching them but by very nar-
" row winding paths on the ſide of a vaſt
" ſteep rock in the front, which extended to
" the bottom of the valley, broke in ſeveral
" places by the impetuoſity of torrents. A
" ſituation of ſuch ſtrength ſurprized Herod,
" who did not know how to put his enter-
" prize in execution. He at length thought
" of a method unknown before. He cauſed
" ſoldiers to be let down in ſquare cheſts of
" great



Corvus for Crane with a Cage or the Tellennon used by the Ancients for lifting men to the top of works. ———

" great ſtrength to the entrance of the ca-
" verns, who killed the robbers with their fa-
" milies that were in them, and put fire in-
" to thoſe where thoſe ſculked who would
" not ſurrender: ſo that this race of thieves
" were ſoon deſtroyed either by the ſword,
" fire, or ſmoke." But to return to our tel-lennon.

It is not to be believed, that this machine was invented for raiſing and throwing men upon the towers and walls of beſieged pla-ces; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a multiplicity of theſe machines might be of great ſervice, when placed near one another: but as there is no mention of that in any hiſtorian, it is probable that this kind of corvus was intended for diſcovering what the beſieged were doing upon the towers and within the walls, for which purpoſe one man ſufficed as well as four.

SECT.

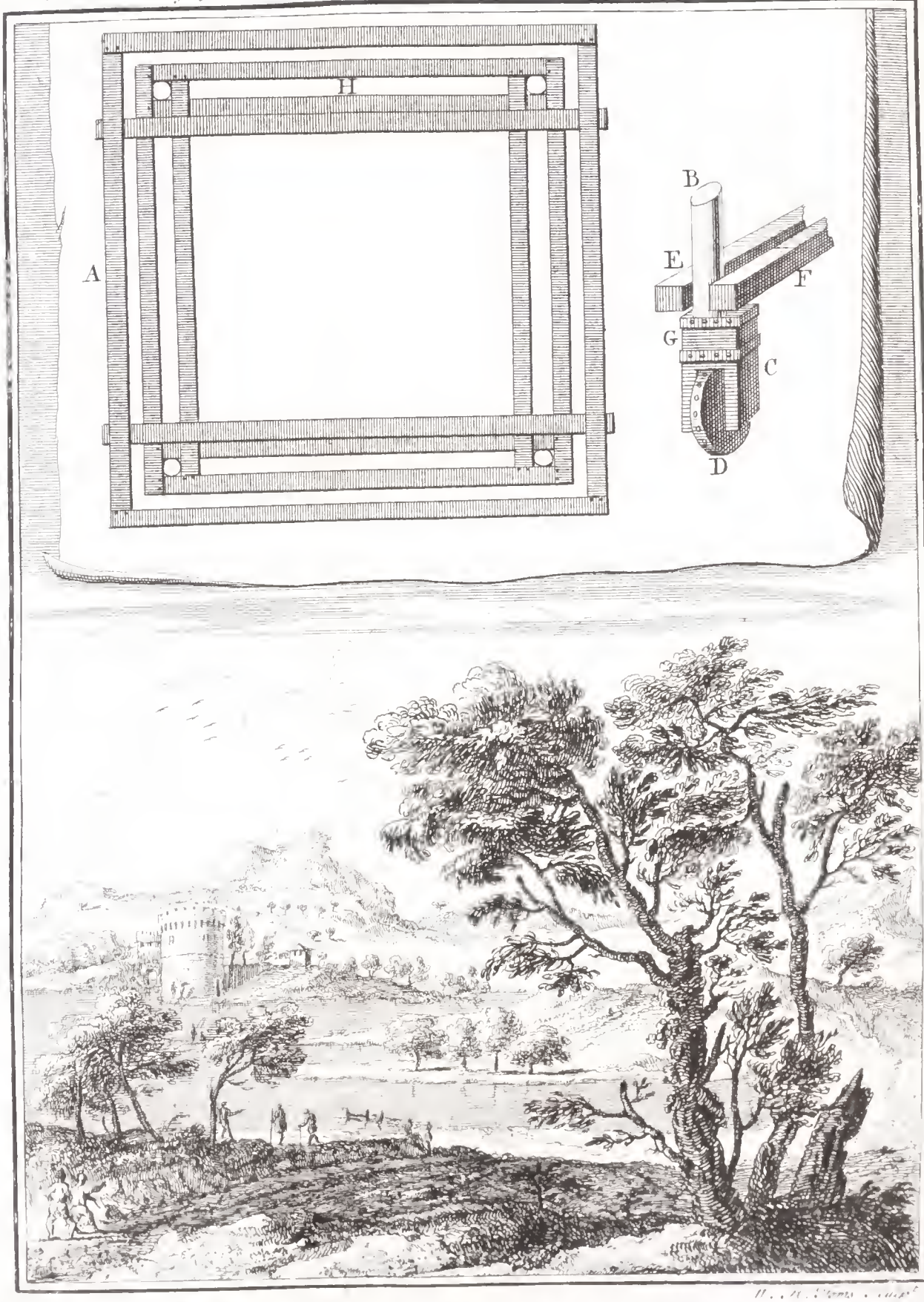
SECT. IV.

Moving towers.

Veget. de re milit. l. 4. c. 17.

VEgetius deſcribes theſe towers in a manner, that gives a ſufficiently clear idea of them. The moving towers, ſays that author, are made of an aſſemblage of beams and ſtrong planks, not unlike an houſe. To ſecure them againſt the fires thrown by the beſieged, they are covered with raw hides, or with pieces of cloth made of hair. Their height is in proportion to that of their baſe. They are ſometimes thirty feet ſquare, and ſometimes forty or fifty. They are higher than the walls or even towers of the city. They are ſupported upon ſeveral wheels according to mechanick principles, by the means of which the machine is eaſily made to move, how great ſoever it may be. The town is in great danger, if this tower can approach the walls. For it has ſtairs from one ſtory to another, and includes different methods of attack. At bottom it has a ram to batter the wall, and on the middle ſtory a draw-bridge, made of two beams with rails of baſket-work, which lets down eaſily upon the wall of a city, when within the reach of it. The beſiegers paſs upon this bridge, to make themſelves maſters of the wall. Upon the higher ſtories are ſoldiers armed with partiſans, and miſſive weapons, who keep a perpetual diſcharge upon the works. When affairs are in this poſture, a place ſeldom holds out long. For what can they hope who have nothing to confide in but the height of their ramparts,





Plan of the Base of the Helepolis of Demetrius supported upon wheels in their axis turning upon a pivot.

ramparts, when they ſee others ſuddenly appear which command them?

PLATE XXVIII. explained.

AS the moving towers of the ancients were the moſt ſtupendious machines they uſed in war, it was thought proper to give an idea of them, their ſtructure, and the Mechanick Powers for moving them, in the following ſeven plates and plans of ſome of the moſt extraordinary mentioned in antient hiſtory.

Plan of the baſe of the Helepolis of Demetrius ſupported upon wheels with their axis turning upon a pivot.

THIS plan relates to the Moving tower in plate XXXI.

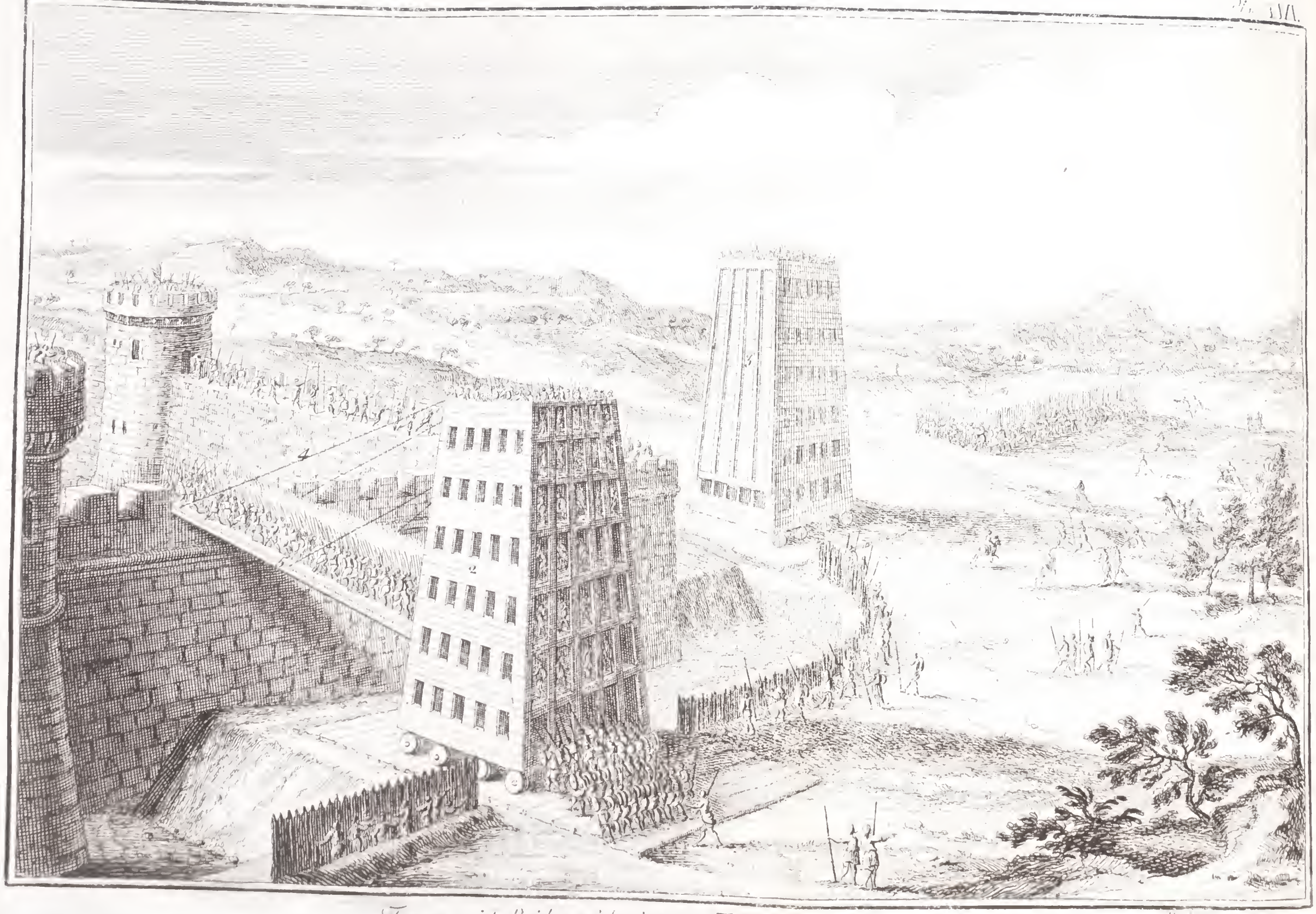
A are beams laid croſs each other at the baſe of the tower. They projected three or four feet beyond the lower frame or baſe, to facilitate the moving of the machine, when it arrived near the foſsé of the beſieged place, and the cordage could work no longer: Beſides which, this projection ſerved to cover the wheels againſt the ſhot of the machines, and to prevent it from overturning, in caſe the wheels ſunk in in ſome bad way, as it ſometimes happened.

B and C repreſent the pieces of wood for the pivot and frame to receive the axis of the wheel D. Theſe pieces were of a ſolidity proportioned

portioned to the weight they ſuſtained: the upper part E was not ſo large as the lower C, in order to its forming a pivot B, that went through the two ſides of the baſe. This is Mr. Perrault's explanation of what Vitruvius calls *Amaxapodes*. The ledge F muſt have been very large to ſupport the enormous weight of the tower; and as the wheel was two cubits or three feet from the axis to the extremity, the pivot and frame B C muſt have been made of three pieces of wood, ſtrongly joined together with great art, and ſtrengthened with bindings of iron G.

The frame of the baſe therefore muſt have been compoſed of eight great beams on the four ſides H, to receive the *Amaxapodes* or pivot and frame. The Chevalier Follard ſays, he does not ſee how this ſort of wheels with their pivots, being ſo few, could move every way without breaking in the mortiſe or hole in which the axle turns: He adds, that he chuſes rather to believe theſe wheels an imagination of Vitruvius.

PLATE



Towers with Bridges of the Emperor Frederick I. at Jerusalem.

PLATE XXIX. explained.

Towers with bridges of the emperor Frederick I. *at Jeruſalem.*

THIS plate repreſents two towers before the walls of the city, each having a bridge (2) compoſed of ſeveral long beams covered with planks, and equal in breadth to the tower, in order to receive a greater front of aſſailants.

(3) Shews the bridge drawn up againſt the tower, beginning at the firſt ſtory, in order to be let down in a parallel line with the top of the wall.

(4) The cables or chains, by which that enormous draw-bridge was let down when at a proper diſtance.

(5) The bridge let down, and the troops paſſing to the wall.

PLATE

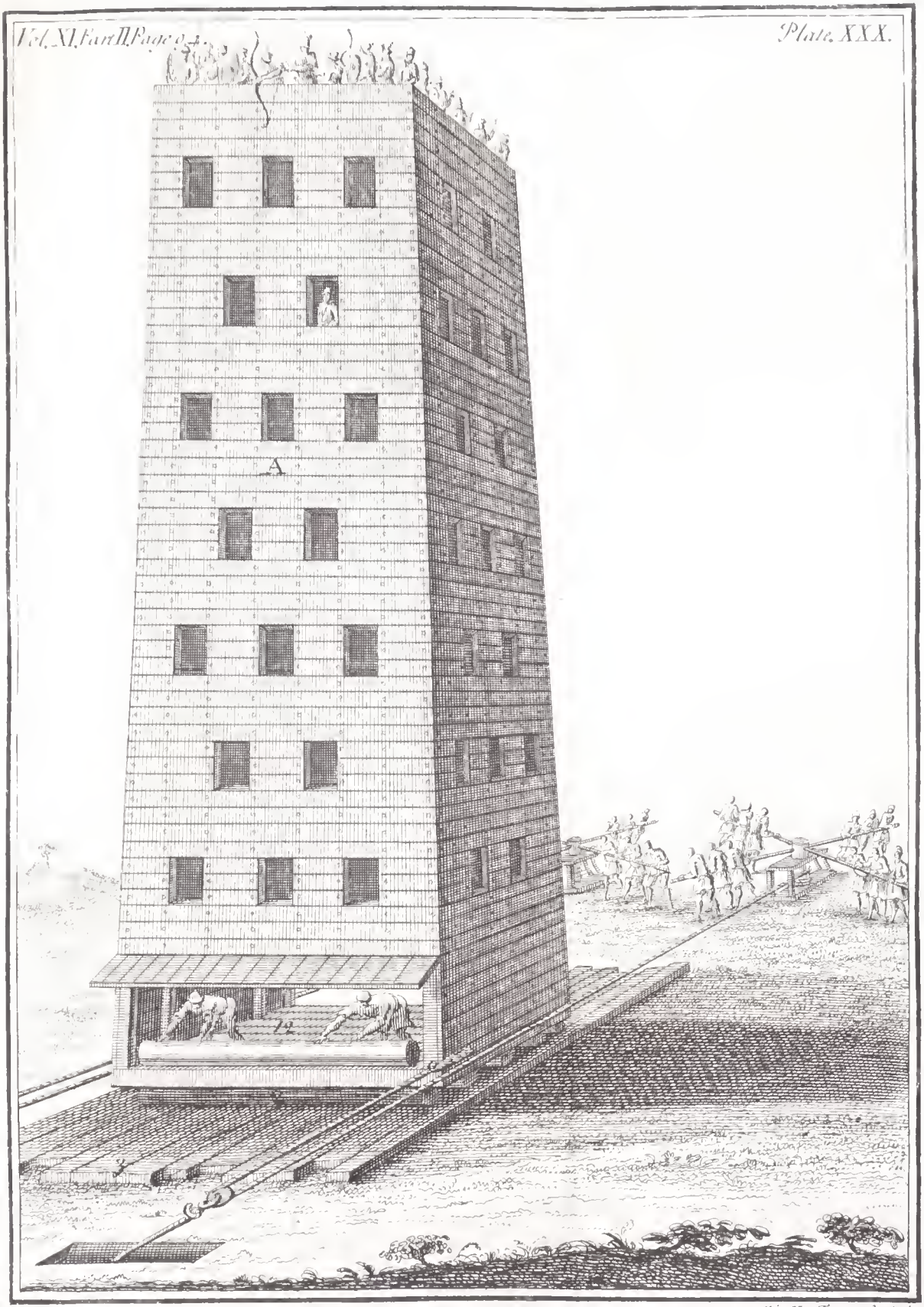
PLATE XXX. explained.

Cæſar's moving tower at the ſiege of Namur, with the powers for moving it.

THE people of Namur demanded to capitulate, when they ſaw the prodigious tower A, of which they had made a jeſt, whilſt it was building at a conſiderable diſtance from their walls, move towards them very faſt. "They believed this a prodigy, ſays Cæſar, "and were aſtoniſhed, that ſuch little people, "as we ſeemed to them, ſhould think of car-"rying ſo vaſt and heavy a machine to their "walls." It is no wonder they were ſurprized, as they had never ſeen nor heard of any ſuch thing, and as this tower ſeemed to advance by enchantment and of itſelf, the mechanick powers that moved it being imperceptible to thoſe of the place. The deputies, whom they ſent to Cæſar, ſaid, that they believed the Romans muſt be aſſiſted by the gods in their wars, who could make machines of ſo enormous a ſize advance ſo ſwiftly to command their walls. *Non ſe exiſtimare Romanos ſine ope deorum bellum gerere, qui ex tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere, & ex propinquitate pugnare poſſent.*

In the following plate, this tower, and the powers for moving it, are explained at large.

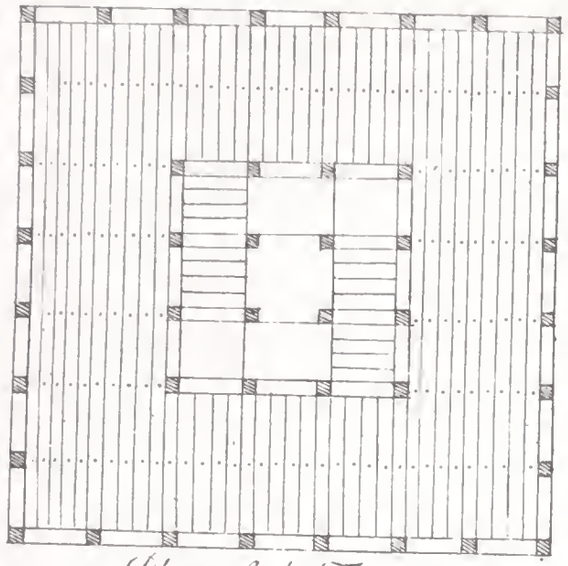
PLATE



W. H. Toms Sculp.

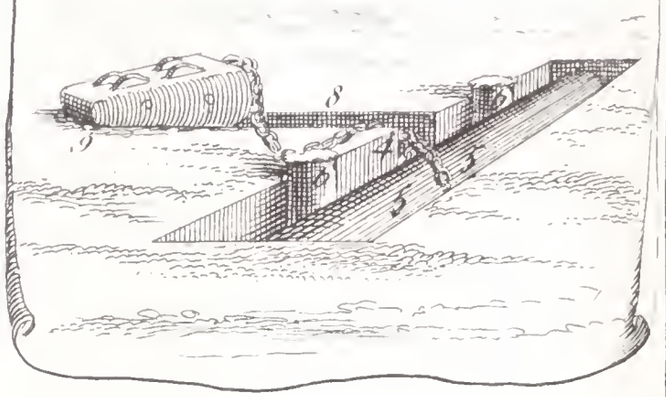
Cæsars moving tower at the Siege of Namur with the powers for moving it.

Vol. XI. Part. II. Page 95.



Plan of the Tower.

Plate XXXI.



The Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes at the Siege of Rhodes with its two Draw bridges.

W.H. Toms Sculp

PLATE XXXI. explained.

Helepolis of Demetrius Poliorcetes at the ſiege of Rhodes, with its two draw-bridges.

THE deſcription of this plate includes that of the laſt.

The machines, like that in the foregoing plate and this, were erected upon cylinders, in the nature of rollers (2), laid a-croſs upon a platform (3), compoſed of flat beams covered with thick planks: when it was to move ſeveral ſmall trenches were cut in the ground (4), diſpoſed in the manner of a quincunx, from three to four feet in length by as many in breadth, parallel to the tower: in each of theſe trenches a large round piece of oak (5) was laid length-ways, ſupported by four ſtrong ſtakes (6), driven obliquely a good depth into the ground, which hindered the croſs-piece (5) from breaking the earth when drawn by the cables (7) that were made as faſt to it as poſſible. Let us imagine the croſs-piece in the ground with four or two ſtakes againſt it, according to the nature of the ſoil, not ſuppoſing that one ſtake, how deep ſoever driven in the earth, could ſuſtain the draught of the cordage, that muſt have inevitably pulled it up; beſides which, the following method is much more ſimple, and more capable of bearing the force of the cords. But as the cables were each of them to draw level with the piece of timber (5), it was neceſſary to make a cut in the earth, of the ſame depth and breadth as the

trenen

trench (4); in the form of the letter T: without which precaution, the cable, in drawing againſt the ſide of the trench (4) would have drawn the croſs-piece (5) out of its place.

In the center of theſe croſs-pieces ſtrong loops were faſtened, to which pullies with double or treble wheels (9) were hooked, fitted with cables, to which others anſwered (10), that were made faſt in the ſame manner to the beams at the bottom of the tower; each of theſe pullies had hooks at the ends of them, to put on and take off from time to time.

After having fixed theſe pulleys to the loops of the croſs-pieces in the trenches and to the towers, with their cables in them, they were let looſe, and not ſtrained, till each of the cables were made faſt to the ſame number of windlaſſes or capſtanes (11), which were more or leſs according to the magnitude of the machine; ſeveral men turning at each of their arms; but it was neceſſary for them to work the windlaſſes or capſtanes exactly together; that all the cables might have their effect at one and the ſame motion; without this agreement in the moving powers, the machine would have turned ſometimes towards one ſide, and ſometimes towards the other.

It moved forwards upon rollers or cylinders. There were men within (12), and others without, who took away the roller, as the tower left it behind in advancing; thoſe within puſhed the rollers before the tower, as faſt as it quitted them behind; ſo that it continually went on upon the ſame number of rollers. When the tower came near the croſs-beams in the trenches, they unhooked the pulleys from the loops, and

and carried them with the cables to other trenches, cut at the ſame diſtance as the former; there they hooked the pullies on again as at firſt, after having brought forwards the windlaſſes or capſtanes to the proper diſtance: and this was repeated, till the tower arrived on the ſide of the foſſé of the place beſieged, without any danger to the workmen, or the enemy's perceiving the powers that moved the machine; the windlaſſes, *&c.* being behind it: for when they approached the walls, thoſe who turned them worked under cover, and behind, the hurdles or fence-work of the lines of approach.

Theſe the Chevalier Follard conjectures to have been the mechanick principles for moving great towers; which, he adds, do not only ſeem very ſimple, but argue the *tanta celeritate* of Cæſar. The pent-houſe (13) that moved up and down at the diſcretion of thoſe within, was to cover the men in bringing forward the rollers to the front of the tower: it is left open purpoſely in the plate to ſhew their manner of working within the machine.

He continues, that it is his opinion, the ſame mechanick powers were as likely to be uſed in moving ſmall towers as great ones: though it is poſſible, that the latter had wheels (16), with this difference, that a greater force was required for making them go forwards, and conſequently, that the cables ſhould go under the machine, as in the helepolis with wheels. Tho' Diodorus pretends that this laſt machine went upon eight wheels, I have given it ſixteen, becauſe to me it ſeems impoſſible for it to move upon eight, and I have placed its two bridges

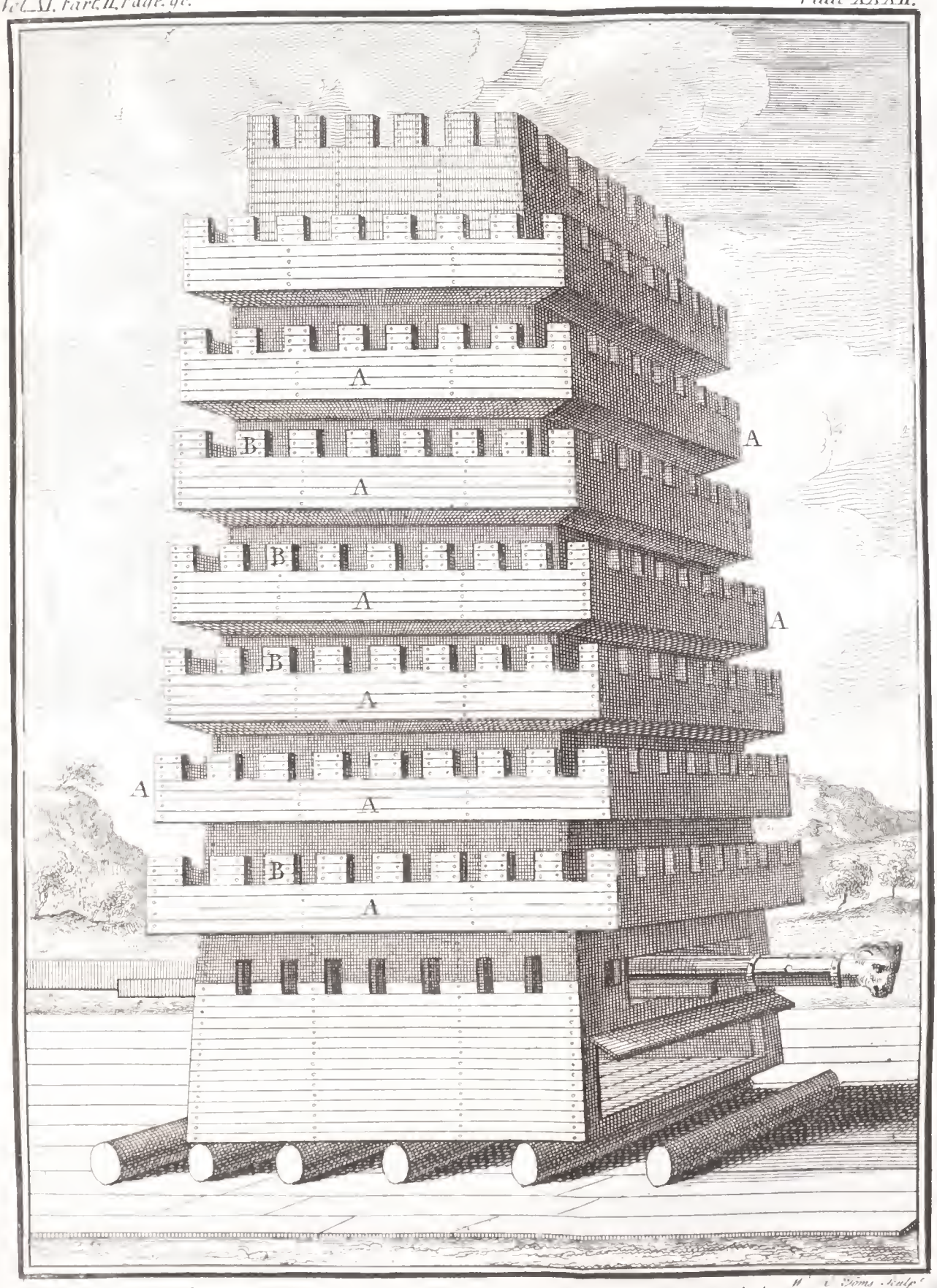
(18) at the middle ſtory, which it is not improbable were let down and drawn up by capſtanes.

Had the rollers, upon which theſe towers moved, been turned by leavers, the ſame learned commentator upon Polybius ſays, they could not have made two yards a day, which he proves by the example of Vitiges the Goth at the ſiege of Rome, defended by Beliſarius, as related by Procopius.

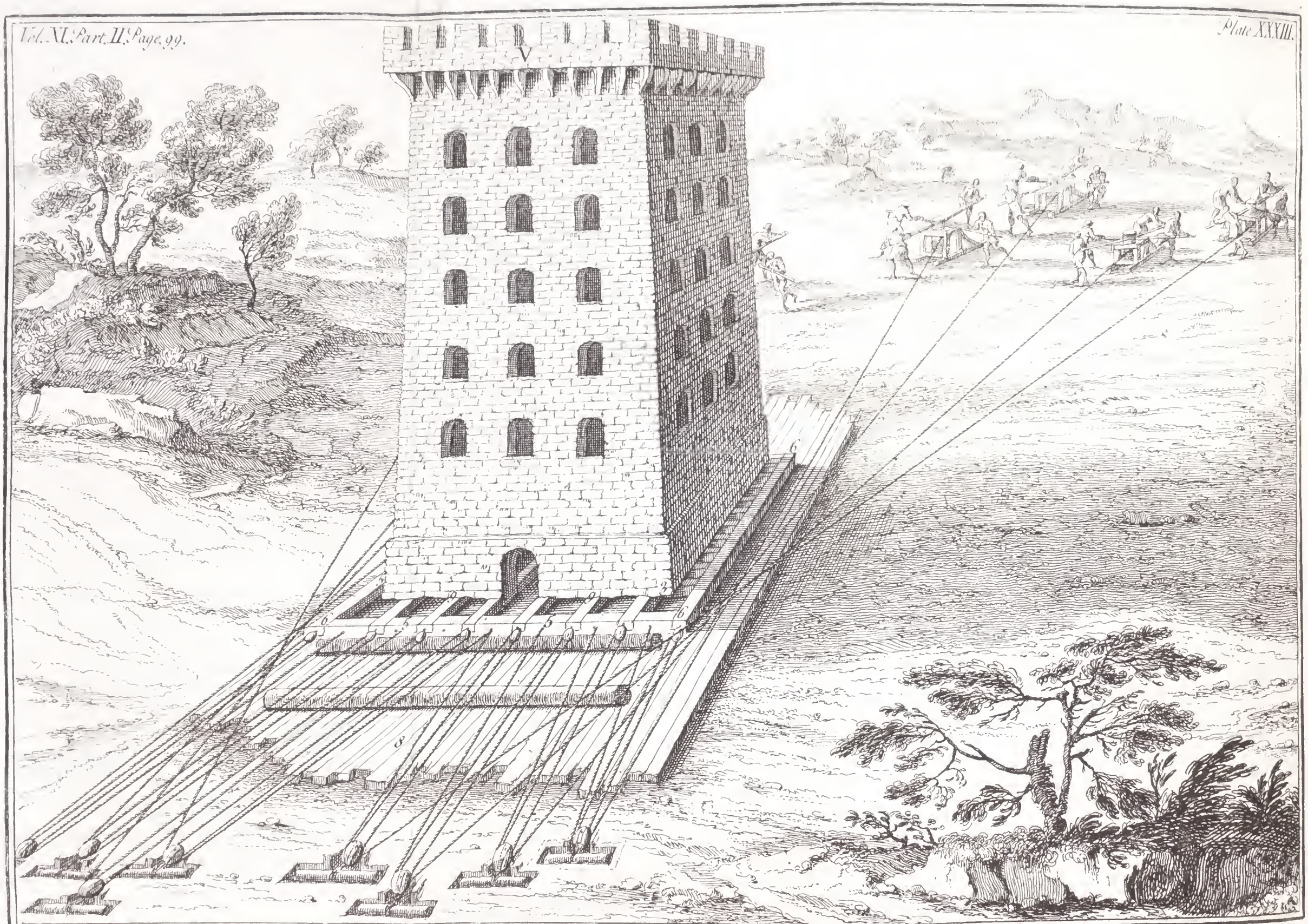
PLATE XXXII. explained.

Tower with corridors or galleries, and a ram not ſuſpended.

THE corridors or galleries (A) that ſurround this tower at each ſtory, were intended to prevent its being ſet on fire, and indeed, nothing could have been better invented for that purpoſe; thoſe galleries being full of troops, armed with miſſive weapons, who made their diſcharges from behind the kind of parapets or battlements (B), and were always ready to pull out the darts of fire, and extinguiſh all other combuſtibles thrown againſt the tower; ſo that it was impoſſible for the fire to make the leaſt progreſs, the remedy being always at hand. Theſe corridors were built upon beams that projected five or ſix feet beyond the tower; ſeveral of which kind are ſtill to be ſeen upon Trajan's column.



Tower with corridors or Galleries & a Ram not Suspended.



W.H Toms Sculp.

Tower of Stone moved from one place to another, by an Architect of Boulogne.

PLATE XXXIII. explained.

Tower of ſtone moved from one place to another by an architect of Boulogne.

IT is ſuppoſed, that this architect muſt have taken the following method for removing this tower. He began by making Cuts in it at the bottom, level with the ground on all ſides, and exactly facing one another. Theſe Cuts were wide enough to receive ſeveral large ſquare beams, prepared beforehand to form a double frame, and ſerve as a baſe to the tower; theſe beams thus laid, and projecting ſix feet on each ſide of the baſe of the tower, other croſs-beams were carried through the Cuts in the other ſides (3), and laid chequer-wiſe as a ſquare baſe (5). All theſe beams were inſerted at the ends, into four other beams (6) with tenons and mortiſes, and into each other by cuts hewed in them, at which they were made firm by tenons. This double frame, upon which the tower was to move, and which ſerved it as a baſe, ſhould have projected five or ſix feet beyond the tower. All this being done in the ſtrongeſt and moſt exact manner, the whole was raiſed on the four ſides with leavers, and long cylindrical beams or rollers (7), all equal in their diameters put under. A platform was then laid of beams covered with ſtrong planks, and the parts of the wall, that ſtill ſupported the tower in the ſpaces between the beams of the baſe were ſapped and taken away as level with the reſt of

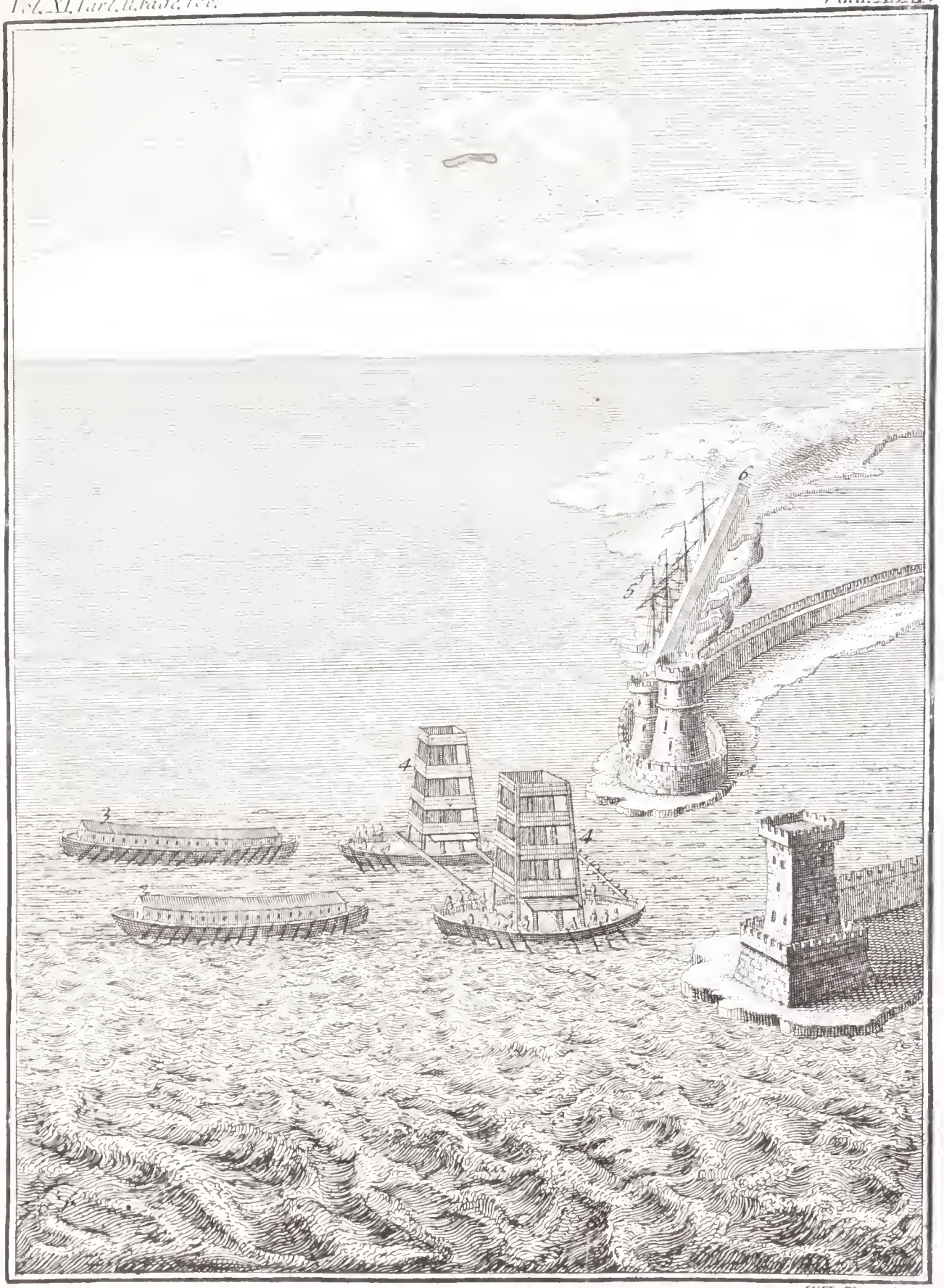
the bottom as poſſible: theſe parts of the wall thus ſapped and removed all at the ſame time, the tower being fixed on the baſe of beams, and thoſe on the rollers, nothing remained but to ſet it in motion by the ſame mechanick powers as are deſcribed in moving the helepolis, encreaſing the number of pulleys and windlaſſes to the force neceſſary, and adding a greater number of rollers than it had at firſt.

PLATE XXXIV. explained.

Floating towers and galleries of Demetrius at the ſiege of Rhodes.

DEmetrius cauſed two tortoiſes to be built upon flat-bottomed veſſels, for approaching the nearer to the places he had occaſion to batter. Thoſe machines may be called *Floating Tortoiſes* (2), the one to cover his troops againſt the enormous weight, thrown by the beſieged from the tops of their walls and towers, or diſcharged by the catapultas planted at the bottom of them. The other (3) was covered at top with timber-work of ſomething leſs ſolidity than the firſt, and was intended to ſhelter the troops againſt the arrows and darts diſcharged by the baliſtas. Theſe two tortoiſes were in a line, and at ſome diſtance from each other. There were alſo two veſſels or *prahms* in the front of the tortoiſes or galleries, upon which two towers with battering rams (4) were erected, each of four ſtories, and higher than thoſe that defended the entrance of the port. Theſe floating towers were intend-

ed



Floating Towers & Galleries of Demetrius at the Siege of Rhodes. WH. Toms Sculp.



ed to batter thoſe of the port, whilſt the troops from the ſeveral ſtories diſcharged perpetually on the enemy that appeared on the walls.

As theſe four floating machines were intended, at leaſt thoſe with the rams, to batter the two towers that defended the entrance of the port, and Demetrius was in hopes of carrying the place by the port, which could not be taken but by attacking the two branches of the mole, on the ſide next the main, at the ſame time with a great body of troops, well provided for that ſervice, he at laſt thought of this, as the moſt happy method that could be imagined.

He commanded a number of his leaſt, but ſtrongeſt ſhips (5) to be drawn up in a line, on the ſides of the mole, at a certain diſtance from each other; over theſe he built a covered gallery (6), with doors along the ſides of it for going in and out. Within this gallery he poſted a great body of ſoldiers and archers that could be immediately reinforced from his other ſhips as the occaſions in attacking the mole ſhould require.

Notwithſtanding many ſurprizing inventions of the ſame nature, the Rhodians obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, after he had been a year before the place.

See the hiſtory of this ſiege in Vol. VIII. of this work.

ARTICLE III.

Attack and defence of places.

I Join the attack and defence of places together, in order to abridge this ſubject, which of itſelf is very extenſive: I ſhall even treat only the moſt eſſential parts of it, and that in as brief a manner as poſſible.

SECT. I.

Lines of circumvallation and countervallation.

WHEN the cities were extremely ſtrong and populous, they were ſurrounded with a foſsé and entrenchment againſt the beſieged, and by another foſsé on the ſide next the country againſt the troops, which might come to the aid of the place; and theſe were called lines of circumvallation and countervallation. The beſiegers pitched their camp between theſe two lines. Thoſe of countervallation were againſt the beſieged city, the others againſt attempts from without.

When it was foreſeen, that the ſiege would be of long duration, it was often changed into a blockade, and then the two lines in queſtion were ſolid walls of ſtrong maſonry, flanked with towers at proper diſtances. There is a very ſenſible example of this at the ſiege of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans,

of

of which Thucydides has left us a long deſcription. " The two ſurrounding lines were compoſed of two walls ſixteen feet diſtant, " and the ſoldiers lay in that ſpace, which " was divided into quarters: ſo that it might " have been taken for only one wall with high " towers from diſtance to diſtance, which occupied the whole interval, in order to enable " the beſiegers to defend at the ſame time " againſt thoſe within and thoſe without. " The quarters of the ſoldiers could not be " gone round without croſſing the towers of " the wall, and the top of the wall was ſkirted with a parapet of oſier. There was a " foſſé, on each ſide of which, the earth had " been uſed to make bricks for the wall." In this manner Thucydides deſcribes theſe two ſurrounding walls, which were of no very great circumference, the city being very ſmall. I have elſewhere related with ſufficient extent the hiſtory of this ſiege, or rather blockade, very famous amongſt the ancients, and have obſerved in what manner, notwithſtanding theſe fortifications, part of the garriſon eſcaped.

Thucyd. l. 2. p. 147. &c.

Vol. III. Book VI. Chap. V.

The camp of the Roman army before Numantia took up a much greater extent of ground. That city was four and twenty ſtadia in circumference, that is to ſay, a league. Scipio, when he inveſted it, cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn, which incloſed more than twice the ground the city ſtood upon. When this work was finiſhed, another line was thrown up againſt the beſieged, at a reaſonable diſtance from the firſt, compoſed of a rampart of eight feet thick by ten high, which was ſtrengthened with ſtrong paliſades. The whole

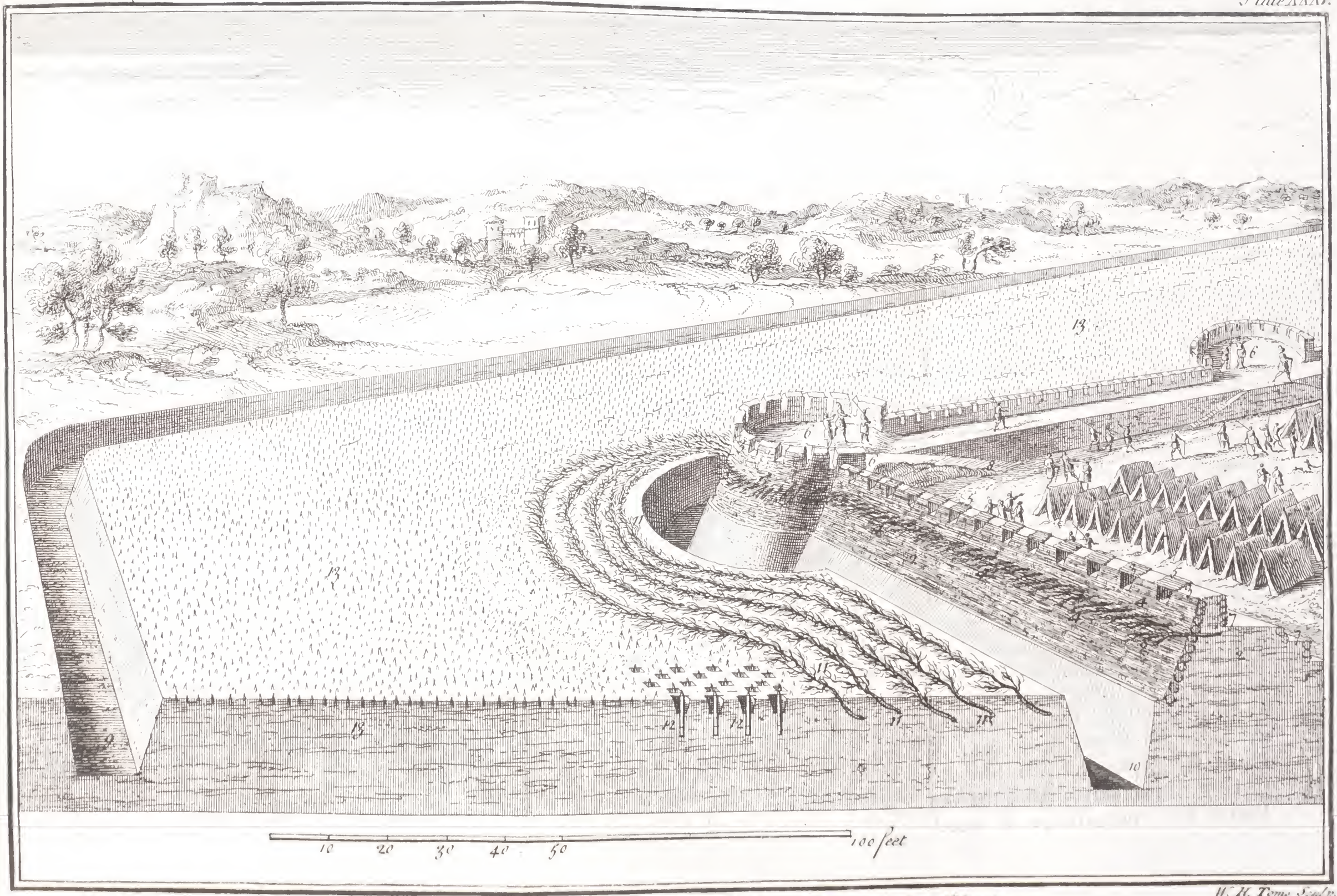
Appian. in Iberic. p. 306.

was flanked with towers of an hundred feet from each other. It is not eaſy to comprehend in what manner the Romans compleated theſe immenſe works; a line of circumvallation of more than two leagues in compaſs: but nothing is more certain than theſe facts. Let us now advance towards the place.

PLATE XXXV. explained.

Profile of part of the circumvallation with its foſsé, and advanced foſsé of Cæſar's camp before Alexia.

THE work (2) was formed of faſcines inſtead of turf, with its parapet (3), and fraiſe (4), made of large ſtakes with their branches cut in points, and burnt at the ends like a ſtag's horns; they ſeemed like wings at the foot of the parapet, or like the oars of a galley inclining downwards. Of the ſame nature are the fraiſes of the moderns, that are far from being ſo well imagined, and are ſmooth-pointed paliſades bending downwards to prevent ſcaling. The moderns fix them in the ſame manner at the bottom of the parapet, where they form a kind of cincture very agreeable to the eye. The battlements mentioned by Cæſar, were like the modern embrazures for cannon (5); here the archers were placed. Upon the parapet of the towers (6), field-baliſtas were planted to flank the works. Theſe towers were not always of wood, but ſometimes



W. H. Toms Sculp.

Profile of part of the Circumvallation with its fossé and advanced fossé of Cæsar's Camp before Alexia.

times of earth coverd with turf, or ſtrengthened with faſcines. They were much higher than the reſt of the entrenchment, and ſometimes had towers of wood raiſed upon them, for battering the places that commanded the camp.

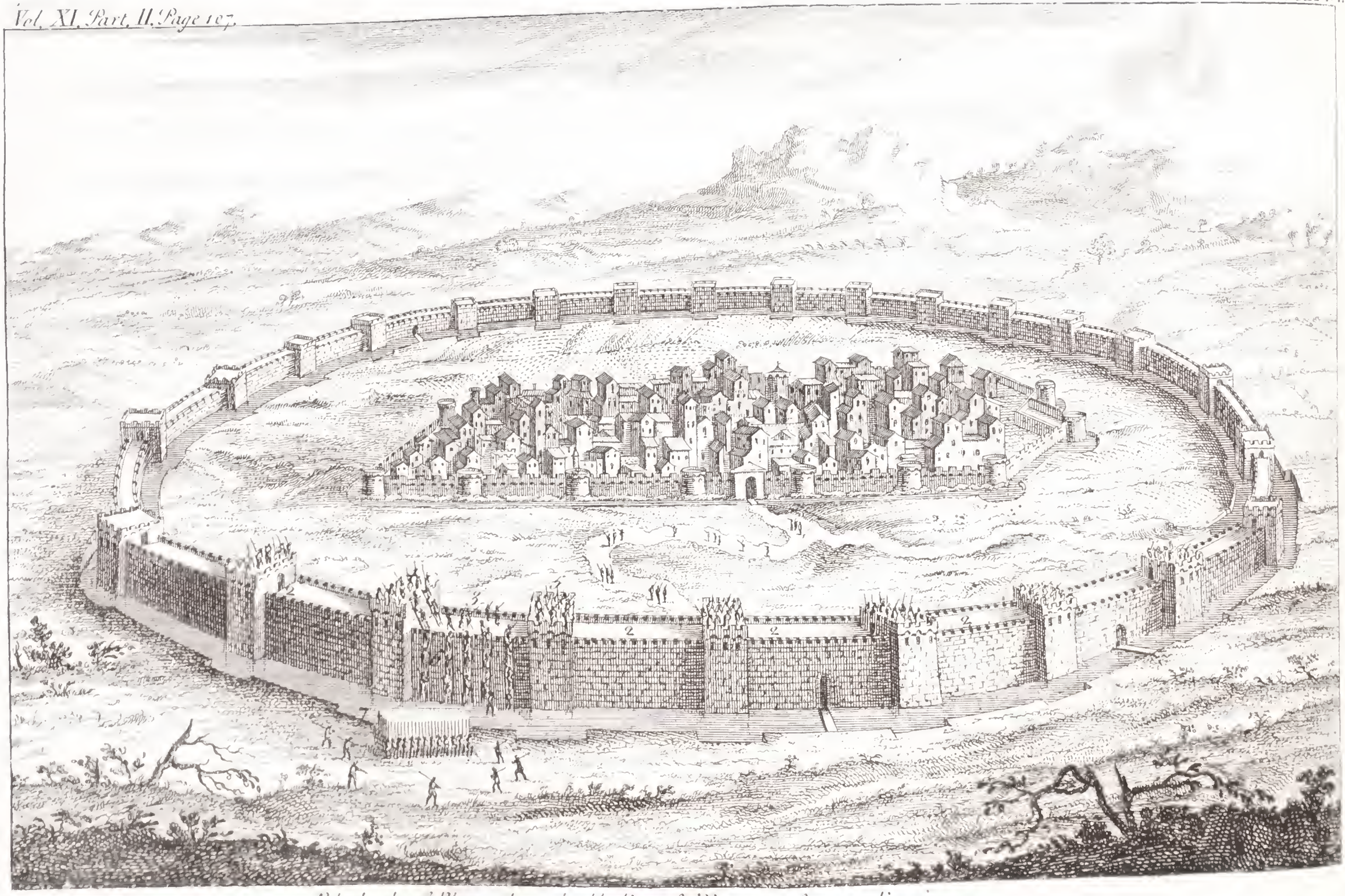
Some authors have believed, that theſe entrenchments and works of the ancients in the field, like thoſe of maſonry, were perpendicular; but that opinion is very abſurd. Theſe had a platform with its talus or ſlope, and ſometimes banquettes (7) in the form of ſteps for aſcending; beſides which, at the towers, there were ways made (8) to go up. All this was indiſpenſably neceſſary in Cæſar's lines, as they were very high, to prevent the earth from falling away. Thus much for the two lines of circumvallation. We proceed to the ground encloſed between the two foſsés (9) and (10), which is far the moſt curious part of this celebrated blockade, and will be beſt explained in Cæſar's own words.

" As the ſoldiers were employed at the ſame
" time to fetch wood and proviſions from a
" conſiderable diſtance, and to work at the
" fortifications, and the enemy often ſallied at
" ſeveral gates to interrupt the work; Cæſar
" found it neceſſary to make ſome addition to
" his lines, that they might not require ſo ma-
" ny men to guard them. He therefore took
" trees of no great height, or large branches,
" which he cauſed to be made ſharp at the
" ends, and running a trench of five feet deep
" before the lines, he ordered them to be put
" into it, and made faſt at bottom, ſo that they
" could not be pulled up. This trench was
" again filled up in ſuch a manner, that no-
" thing

" thing but the branches of the head (11) ap-
" peared, of which the points muſt have run
" into thoſe who ſhould have endeavoured to
" paſs them: as there were five rows of them
" (11) interwoven in a manner with each
" other, they were unavoidable. In the front
" of theſe he cauſed pits of three feet deep to be
" dug in the form of the quincunx (12). In
" theſe pits he fixed ſtrong ſtakes, burnt and
" ſharpened at the top, which roſe only four
" inches above the level of the ground, into
" which they were planted three feet deeper
" than the pits for the ſake of firmneſs. The
" pits were covered over with buſhes to de-
" ceive the enemy. There were eight rows of
" them, at the diſtance of three feet from each
" other. In the front of all he ſowed the
" whole ſpace between the pits and the advan-
" ced foſsé, (9) with crows feet of an extraor-
" dinary ſize (13), which the ſoldiers called
" *ſpurs.*" The other line to prevent ſuc-cours from without, was entirely the ſame with this.

PLATE





Blockade of Platæa by a double line of Masonry surrounding it.

PLATE XXXVI. explained.

Blockade of Platæa by a double line of maſonry ſurrounding it.

THIS ſiege is related in the third volume of this hiſtory.

(2) Is the platform or Terraſs upon the top and between the two walls, which were ſixteen feet aſunder.

The garriſon of Platæa (7) made uſe of ladders in eſcaping over theſe works, which they applied to the inward wall. After they had got upon the platform (2), and ſeized the two towers (4) (5), they drew up the ladders, and let them down on the other ſide of the outward wall (6), by which they deſcended to the bottom, drawing up in line of battle as faſt as they came down (7); in which manner, by the favour of a dark night, they marched to Athens.

PLATE XXXVII. explained.

Celebrated blockade of Numantia with its two ſurrounding lines.

(2) THE firſt line of circumvallation next the country.

(3) The other line next the place.

(4) The rampart.

(5) The paliſades in the nature of a fraize.

(6) The towers at an hundred feet diſtance from each other.

(7) A bank or mole over a marſh, with a parapet upon it equal to the height of the wall.

(8) The four forts Scipio cauſed to be erected upon the banks of the river Duæra contiguous to the lines.

(9) A ſtoccado, or chain of floating beams, pierced through croſs-wiſe with long ſtakes pointed with iron, to prevent barks from entering and divers from getting any intelligence of what was doing in the camp.

SECT.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

The celebrated Blockade of Numantia with its two surrounding lines.

SECT. II.

Approaches of the camp to the body of the place.

THOUGH trenches, oblique lines, mines, and other the like inventions, ſeem neither often nor clearly expreſſed in authors, we can hardly doubt with reaſon, that they were not in uſe amongſt the Greeks and Romans. Is it probable, that with the ancients, whoſe generals amongſt their other excellent qualities, had that of taking great care to ſpare the blood and lives of their ſoldiers, approaches were made in beſieging without any precautions againſt the machines of the beſieged, whoſe ramparts were ſo well provided, and defence ſo bloody. Though there is no mention of this in any of the hiſtorians, who might poſſibly in the deſcription of ſieges, omit this circumſtance, as well known to all the world; we ſhould not conclude, that ſuch able generals either did not know, or neglected, things, on the one ſide ſo important, and on the other ſo eaſy; and which muſt naturally have entered the thoughts of every man ever ſo little verſed in attacking places. But ſeveral hiſtorians ſpeak of them; of which one ſhall ſerve for all the reſt: this is Polybius, where he relates the ſiege of the city of Echinna by Phillip. He concludes the deſcription of it with theſe words: *To cover from the arrows of the beſieged, as well thoſe who went from the camp to the works, as thoſe who returned from the* Polyb. l. 9. p. 571.

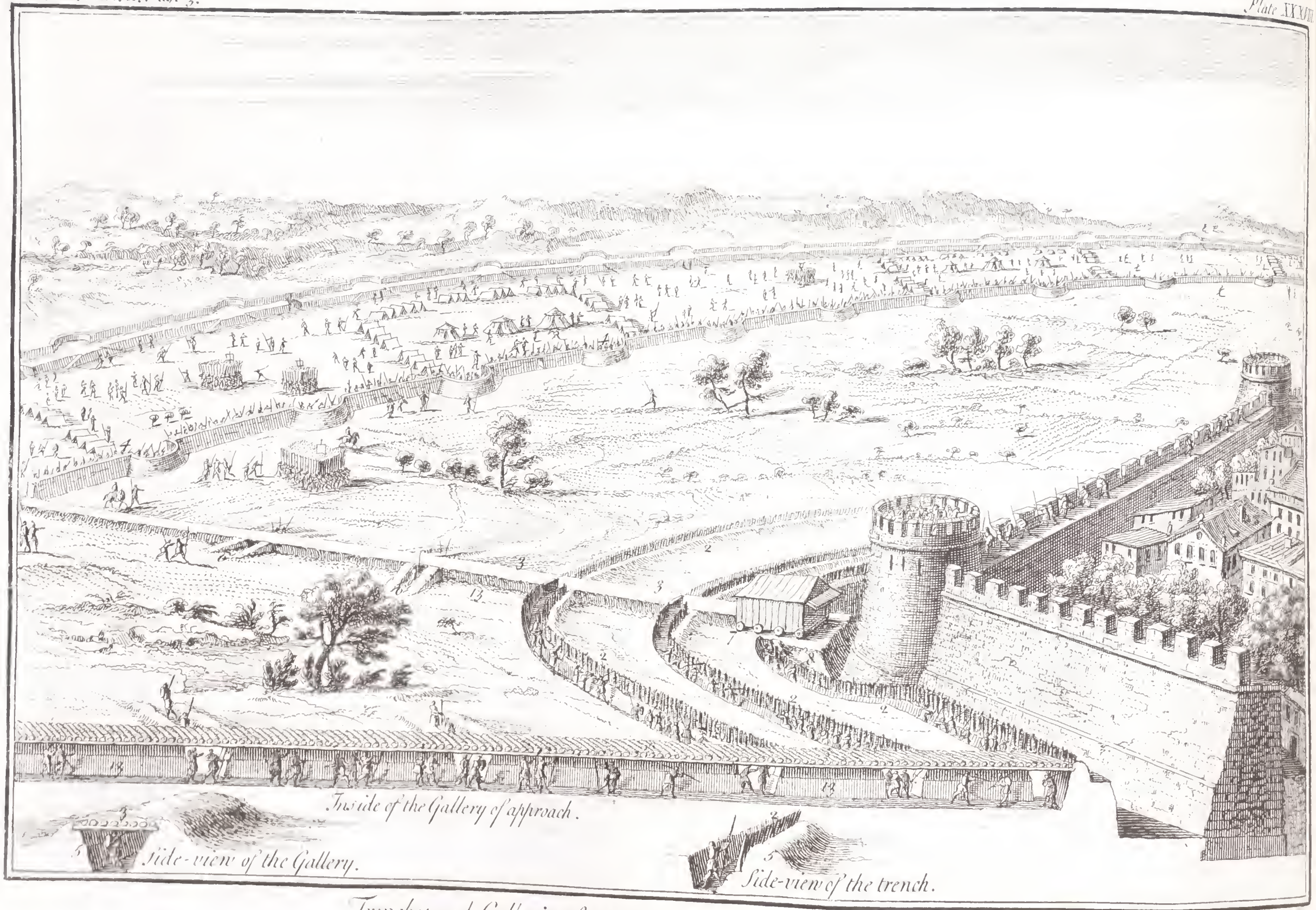
works

*works to the camp, trenches were drawn * from the camp to the tortoiſes; and thoſe trenches covered at top.*

Long before Phillip, Demetrius Poliorcetes had uſed the ſame method at the ſiege of Rhodes. Diodorus Siculus tells us, *that famous warrior cauſed tortoiſes, and galleries, cut in the earth, or covered mines, to be made, for communication with the batteries of rams, and ordered a trench with blinds over head, to cover and ſecure the troops in going and coming from the towers and tortoiſes. The ſeamen and marines were appointed for this ſervice; the work was four ſtadia in length, that is to ſay, five hundred paces.*

* Σύριγξες κατάσεγοι, *Suidas underſtands by* σύριγξ, *a long trench:* ἐπιμήκης ὄρυξ, foſſa longa. Longus cuniculus, & meatus ſubterraneus.

PLATE



Trenches and Galleries of approach of the Ancients.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XXXVIII. explained.

Trenches and galleries of approach of the ancients.

THE approaches of the ancients, ſays Mr. Follard, were not entirely like thoſe of the moderns, nor ſo deep in the earth, the fire from our works being of a quite different nature from that of the baliſtas and catapultas, though ſurprizingly violent.

It is certain, that they went under cover from their camp to their batteries, and uſed more or leſs precaution, according to the ſtrength and valour of the beſieged, and the number of their machines, by which they regulated the form of their approaches or trenches. Theſe were of two ſorts. The firſt were compoſed of a blind (2) of faſcines or ſtrong hurdles placed on the ſide of each other without any ſpace between them; ſo that they formed a kind of wall of five or ſix feet high, with loop-holes cut from ſpace to ſpace between the faſcines or through the hurdles. To ſupport this blind, it is ſuppoſed they planted forked pieces of wood in the ground, upon which long poles were laid croſs-wiſe with the faſcines or hurdles made faſt to them.

There was another kind of approaches very different from the former; theſe were ſeveral trenches or galleries of communication covered at top (3), drawn in a right line from the camp (4) to the works, or to the parallels (2) not much unlike ours. Theſe galleries of commu-

communication, of which there is a ſide-view or profile in the plate (5), were cut ten or twelve feet broad in the earth. The workmen threw up the earth on both ſides, which they ſupported with faſcines, and covered the ſpace with hurdles and earth, laid upon by poles and rafters. The whole length of theſe galleries in the earth, they cut loop-holes through the ſides and iſſues (6) to go out at. On the ſides of theſe covered trenches or communications were eſplanades, or places of arms, which extended the whole front of the attack. Theſe places were ſpacious, and capable of containing a great body of troops in order of battle: for here they were poſted to ſupport their towers, tortoiſes, and batteries of rams, baliſtas, and catapultas, againſt the ſallies of the beſieged.

The firſt parallel trench (2), next the body of the place, was drawn along the ſide of the foſsé, and ſerved as a communication to the battering towers and tortoiſes (7) of the beſiegers. This ſort of communications to the moving towers were ſometimes covered at top by a blind of hurdles or faſcines; becauſe as they ran along the ſide of the counterſcarp, they were expoſed to the downright diſcharges of the towers and ramparts of the beſieged. Loop-holes were cut in the ſides of them, through which the beſiegers fired perpetually upon the works. Theſe covered lines ſerved beſides for filling up the foſsés, and had paſſages of communication (7) with the battering tortoiſes cut in them, which tortoiſes were puſhed forwards upon the part of the foſsé filled up (8). When the walls of a place were not high,

high, these trenches were not covered with blinds either at top or in front, but only with a parapet of the earth dug out of them, like those of the moderns.

At some distance from this parallel, another was cut behind it, which left a space between them of the nature of our esplanades or places of arms: here the batteries of balistas and catapultas were erected, which differed from ours only in being higher. There was sometimes a third upon the same parallel line: these places of arms contained all the troops that guarded the works; the lines communicated by the galleries or trenches covered at top.

(13) Represents the inside and outside of these covered approaches.

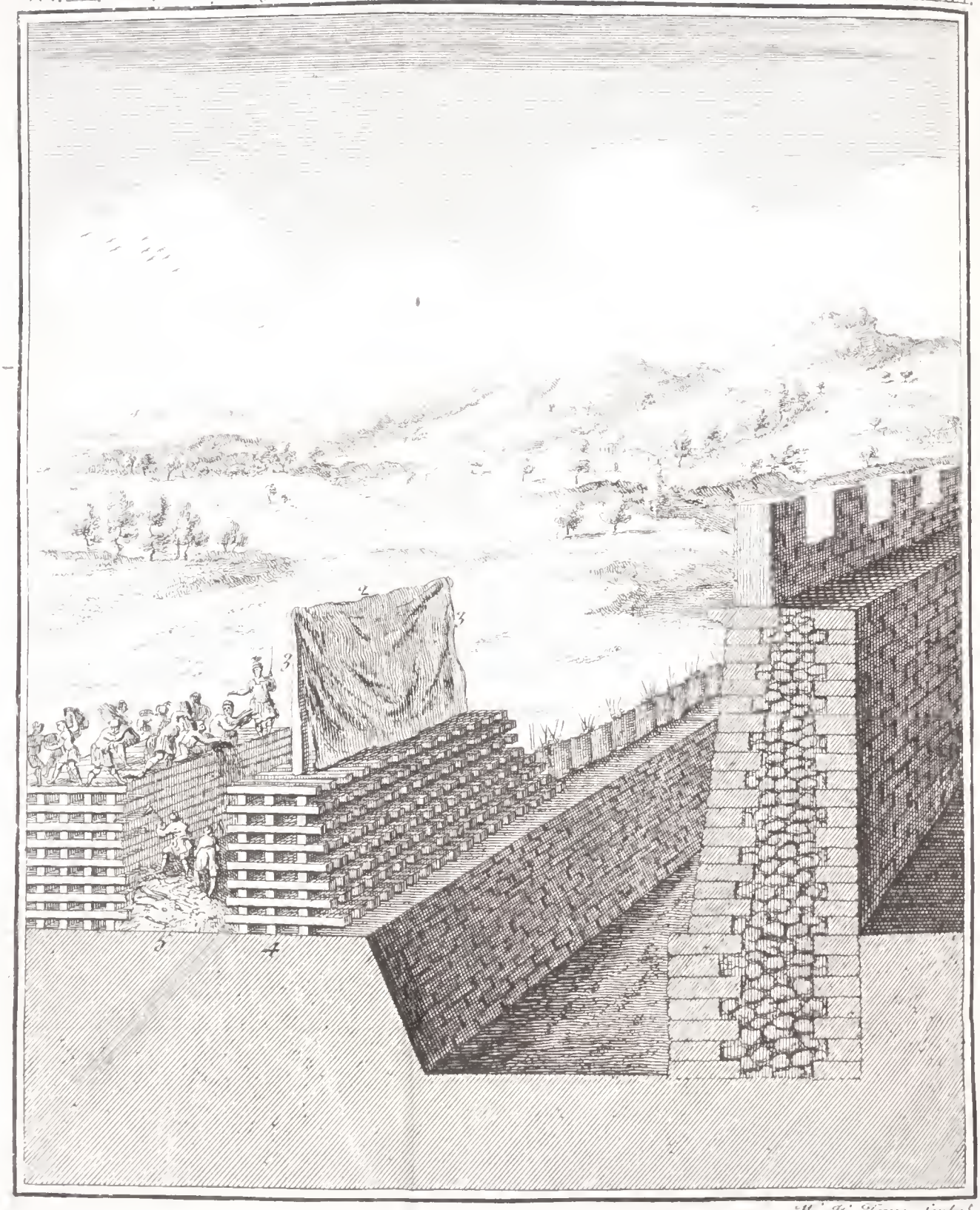
It is certain therefore that the use of trenches was well known to the ancients, without which they could have formed no siege. There were different sorts of them. They were either fosés parallel to the front of the attacks, or communications cut in the earth and covered over head, or open, and drawn obliquely to prevent being scowered by the enemy. These trenches are often expressed in authors by the Latin word *aggeres*, which does not always signify *cavaliers* or *platforms*.

The cavaliers were mounts of earth, on which machines were planted, and were thrown up in the following manner. The work was begun at a small distance from that side of the fosé next the country. It was carried on under the cover of mantles, or moving sheds, of consider-

rable height, behind which the ſoldiers worked in ſecurity from the machines of the beſieged. This ſort of mantles or galleries were not always compoſed of hurdles and faſcines, but of raw hides, mattreſſes, or of a curtain made of ſtrong cables *, the whole ſuſpended between very high maſts fixed in the ground, which broke the force of whatever was diſcharged againſt it. The work was continued to the height of theſe ſuſpended curtains, which were raiſed in proportion with it. At the ſame time the void ſpaces of the platform were filled up with ſtones, earth, and any thing; whilſt ſome were employed in levelling and beating down the earth, to make it firm and capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the towers and machines to be planted upon it. From theſe towers and batteries of baliſtas and catapultas, an hail of ſtones, arrows, and large darts, were diſcharged upon the ramparts and works of the beſieged.

* *Cæſar made uſe of ſuch a curtain at the ſiege of Marſeilles.* De bell. civ. l. 3.

PLATE



W. H. Toms Sculp.t

Profile & manner of erecting the Cavaliers or Platforms of the Ancients.

PLATE XXXIX. explained.

Profile and manner of erecting the cavaliers or platforms of the ancients.

(2) THE mantles behind which the beſiegers worked in raiſing the cavaliers.

(3) The mattreſs thrown over the mantles.

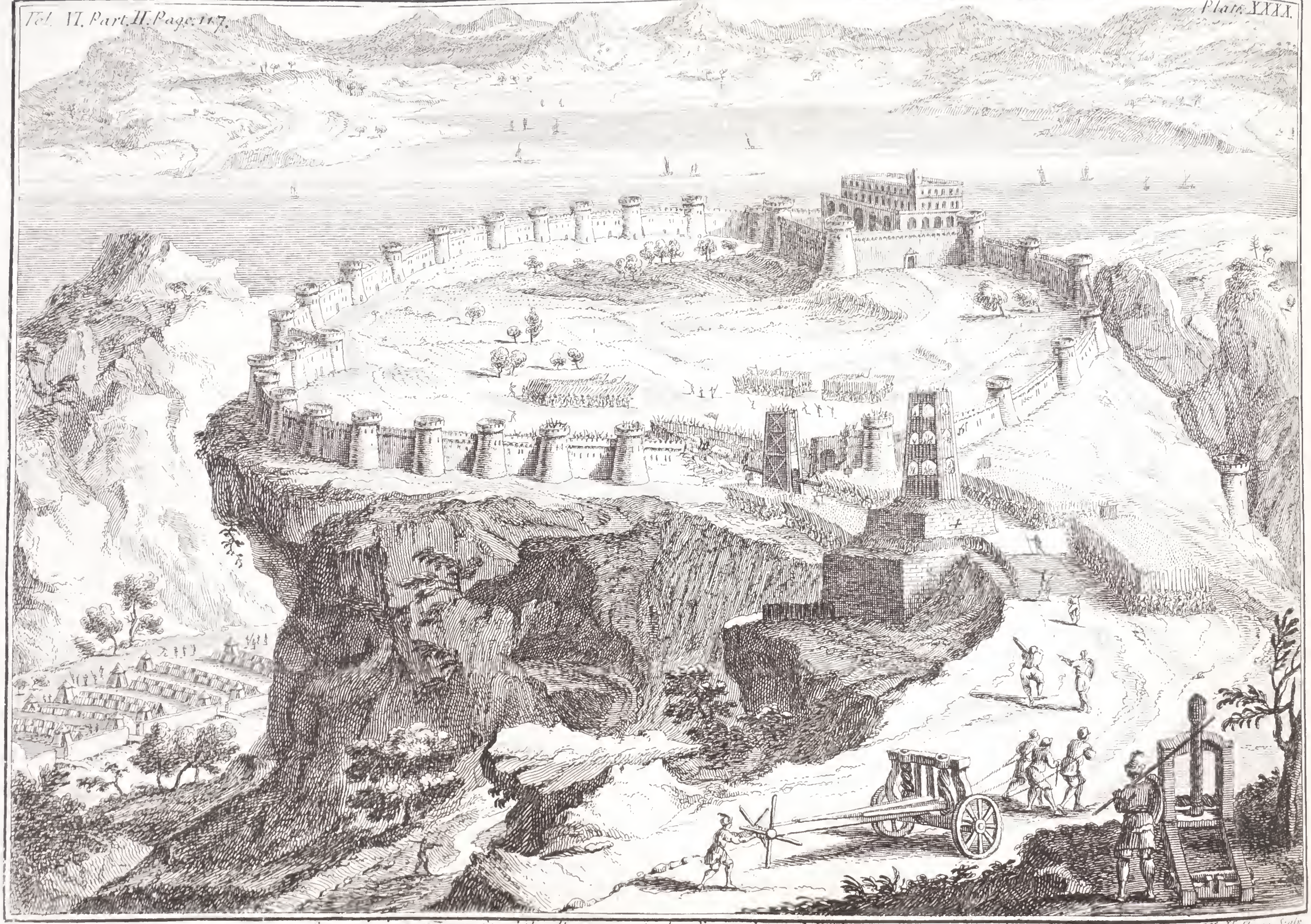
(4) A ſecond cavalier raiſed behind the firſt when very high.

(5) The void ſpace which was filled up between both cavaliers to the ſame height with them.

The terraſs which Alexander the Great cauſed to be raiſed againſt the rock of Coriænæ, was very ſurprizing. That rock, which was ſuppoſed impregnable, was two thouſand five hundred paces high, and ſeven or eight hundred round. It was exceſſively ſteep on all ſides, having only one path, hewn out of the rock, by which no more than one man could aſcend, without difficulty. It was beſides ſurrounded with a deep abyſs, which ſerved it inſtead of a foſsé, and which it was neceſſary to fill up, in order to approach it. All theſe difficulties were not capable of diſcouraging Alexander, to whoſe valour and fortune nothing was impoſſible. He began therefore by ordering the high fir trees, that ſurrounded the place in great numbers, to be cut down, in order to Arrian. l. 4. p. 180.

uſe them as ſtairs to deſcend by into the foſsé. His troops worked night and day in filling it up. Though the whole army were employed in their turns in this work, they could do no more than thirty feet a day, and ſomething leſs a night, ſo difficult was the work. When it was more advanced, and began to come nearer the due height, they drove piles into both ſides of the foſsé at proper diſtances from each other, (with beams laid croſs) in order to ſupport the weight to be laid on it. They then formed a kind of floor or bridge of wicker and faſcines, which they covered with earth to equal the height of the ſide of the foſsé, ſo that the army could advance on a way even with the rock. Till then the Barbarians had derided the undertaking, believing it utterly impracticable. But when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to the darts of the enemy, who worked upon their terraſs behind mantles, they began to loſe courage, demanded to capitulate, and ſoon after ſurrendered the rock to Alexander.

PLATE



Surprizing Terrass of the Romans at the Siege of Massada.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XL. explained.

Surprizing terraſs of the Romans at the ſiege of Maſſada.

THIS terraſs is ſuppoſed to have been of the nature of that of Alexander mentioned in the text.

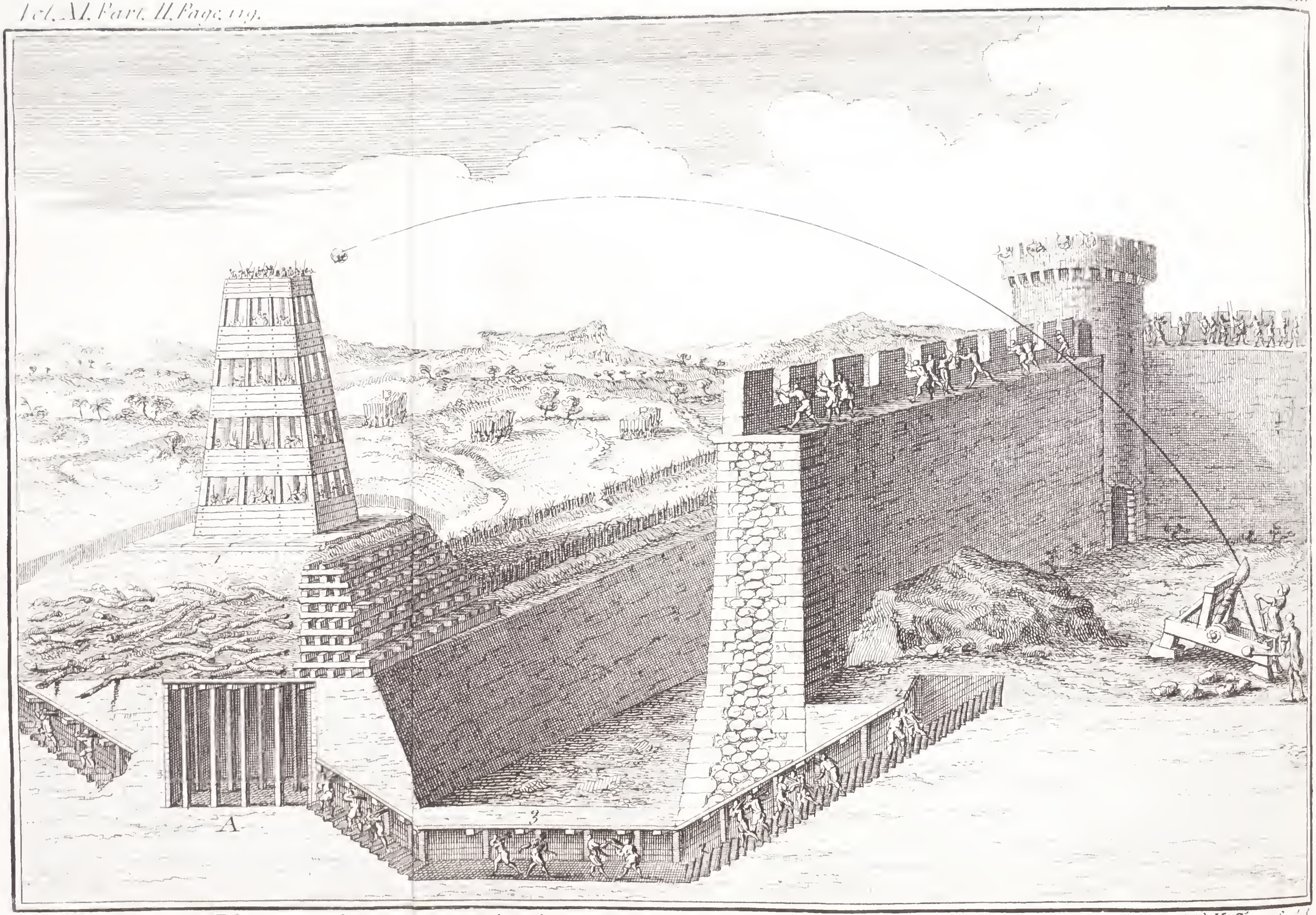
Sylva having beſieged Maſſada on the ſide of the caſtle or citadel, where there was a rock, larger than that upon which it was built, but not ſo high by two hundred cubits (three hundred feet); after he had ſeized this poſt, he raiſed a terraſs upon it of an hundred cubits (2), which he ſtrengthened with a wall of great ſtones (3). Upon this he erected a ſecond cavalier (4) of fifty cubits, upon which he planted a tower (5) of ſixty feet high.

It was under the diſcharges from theſe terraſſes, that the ancients brought their battering tortoiſes to work. At the ſiege of Maſſada, Sylva could not ruin the wall, becauſe ſituated upon a rock, till he had erected the prodigious terraſs (2); but as this terraſs was only equal in height to the rock (7), and the ram (8) could batter only the bottom of the wall (9), Sylva, to purſue this attack, cauſed the ſecond cavalier (4) to be erected, as is ſaid above.

The filling up of the foſsés was not always ſo difficult as in this inſtance, but always required great precautions and labour. The ſoldiers worked under cover in the tortoiſes, and other the like machines. To fill up the foſsés, they made uſe of ſtones, the trunks of trees, and faſcines, the whole mingled with earth. It was neceſſary that theſe works ſhould be of great ſolidity, to bear the prodigious weight of the machines planted upon them, which would have made them fall in, if this kind of cauſeway had been compoſed only of faſcines. If the foſsés were full of water, they began by drawing it off either entirely or in part by different drains, which they cut for that purpoſe.

Whilſt theſe works were carrying on, the beſieged were not idle. They ran many mines under the foſsé to the part of it filled up, in order to carry off the earth, which they handed from man to man into the city: this prevented the work from advancing, the beſieged carrying off as much as the beſiegers laid on it. They uſed alſo another more effectual ſtratagem, which was to cut large cavities underneath the works of the latter. After having removed ſome of the earth without its being diſcovered, they ſupported the reſt with props or large beams, which they ſmeared over with greaſe and other combuſtibles. They then filled up the void ſpace between the props with dry wood, and ſuch things as would ſooneſt burn, and ſet them on fire: hence when the props gave way, the whole fell into a kind of gulph, with the tortoiſes, battering rams, and men employed in working them.

PLATE



Terrys of Cosroez at the Siege of Edessa undermined by the Besieged.

W. H. Toms Sculp.

PLATE XLI. explained.

Terraſs of Coſroez at the ſiege of Edeſſa undermined by the beſieged.

THE hiſtory of this terraſs is the beſt manner of explaining this plate.

The beſieged, apprehending a work already above the height of their walls, attempted to raiſe one in front of it, but the greatneſs of the work, and the time it would take up in the execution, diſcouraging them, they took the ſhorteſt method, which was to undermine the terraſs or platform, and to ſet it on fire. For this purpoſe they opened a mine (2), which they carried under the foſsé (3), to the middle of the cavalier (1), under which they dug, and taking away the earth, propped up the terraſs A ſtrongly, after having rummaged it conſiderably on the inſide. The beſiegers, perceiving that the beſieged were under them, had no other remedy in ſo urgent a danger, than to open countermines on each ſide of the platform B. The miners of the beſieged, perceiving that they were working to come at them, replaced the earth on the ſide they worked, to keep them employed, and filled up the mine A and part of the cavalier with dry wood, pitch, oil, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles; to which, after they had ſet fire, they retired. The Perſians, whether out of negligence of their work, or from whatever other cauſe, did not perceive at firſt, that there was any fire in the terraſs; but as the fire did not

make all the progreſs the beſieged deſired, time being precious, as the cavalier was finiſhed and commanded their walls, they carried in ſo great a quantity of combuſtibles to thoſe that were already on fire, that the flames began to take hold every where within the terraſs. As the ſmoke came through it at different places, the beſieged, fearing the enemy would render the fire ineffectual, by having recourſe to immediate remedies; to make them believe that the fire was without, and not within, the work; they had the addreſs to throw ſo great a quantity of darts and arrows with fire and other combuſtibles upon the platform, that thoſe fires which poured from all parts prevented the enemy from diſcovering the far greater under their feet, and they applied themſelves to extinguiſh the former, without thinking at all of the latter. Coſroez went to the terraſs himſelf, and perceived the real danger. He immediately cauſed the work to be opened in ſeveral places, in order to extinguiſh the fire within it with earth and water; which only augmented the violence of the flames. The whole day paſſed at this work; the people in the place laughing at the beſiegers all the while. The air coming in, and the fire finding a vent at the openings, it ſoon burnt with prodigious violence. The beſieged took the advantage of the confuſion it occaſioned, and drove the Perſians out of all their works.

The

The beſiegers uſed the ſame artifice to make the walls of places fall down. When Darius beſieged Chalcedon, the walls were ſo ſtrong, and the place ſo well provided with all neceſſaries, that the inhabitants were in no pain about the ſiege. The king did not make any approaches to the walls, nor lay waſte the country. He lay ſtill, as if he expected a conſiderable reinforcement. But whilſt the people of Chalcedon had no other thoughts than of guarding their walls, he opened at the diſtance of three quarters of a league from the city a mine, which the Perſians carried on as far as the market-place. They judged themſelves directly under it from the roots of the olive-trees, which they knew grew there. They then opened their mine, and entering by that paſſage, took the place whilſt the beſieged were ſtill employed in keeping guard upon the walls. Polyb. l. 5. c. 5.

In the ſame manner, A. Servilius the dictator took the city of Fidenæ, having cauſed ſeveral falſe attacks to be made on different ſides, whilſt a mine carried on as far as the citadel, opened him a paſſage there for his troops. Another dictator (the celebrated Camillus) could not terminate the long ſiege of Veii, but by this ſtratagem. He untertook to run a mine as far as the citadel of that place. And that the work might not be diſcontinued, nor the troops diſcouraged by the length of it, he divided them into ſix brigades, who relieved each other every ſix hours. The work being carried on night and day, it extended at length to the citadel, and the city was taken. Liv. l. 4. n. 22. Liv. l. 5. n. 19.

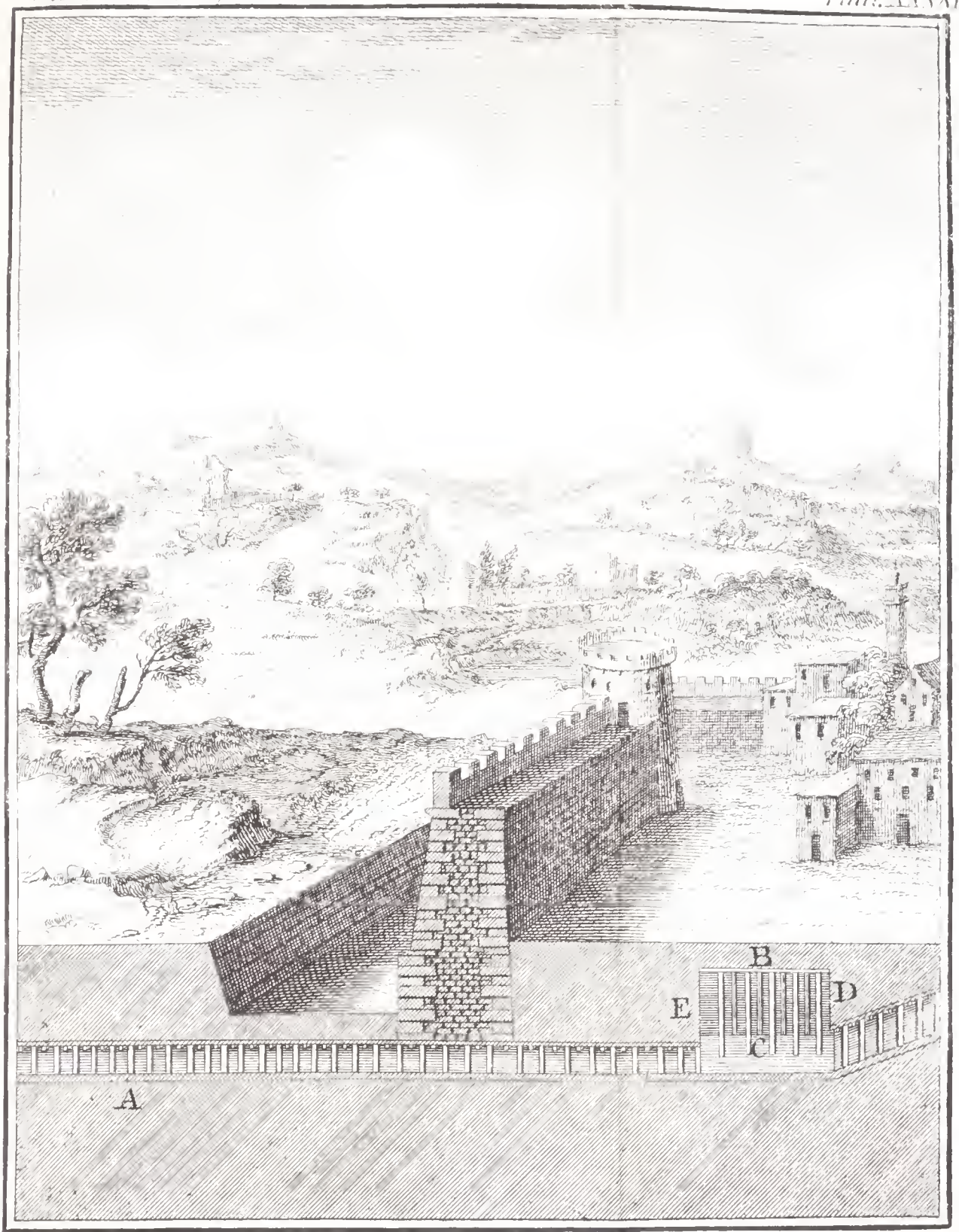
Appian de bell. Mithrid. p. 193.

At the ſiege of Athens by Sylla, it is aſtoniſhing to conſider the mines and countermines uſed on both ſides. The miners were not long before they met and fought furiouſly under ground. The Romans having cut their way as far as the wall, ſapped a great part of it, and ſupported it in a manner in the air on props of wood, to which they ſet fire without loſs of time. The wall fell ſuddenly into the foſsé with an incredible noiſe and ruins, and all that were upon it periſhed. This was one of the methods of attacking places.

PLATE XLII. explained.

Mine from the camp to the inſide of a place.

THIS kind of mines were long uſed before the invention of ſapping, and conſiſted at firſt in only running the mine A from the camp to the wall; and from thence a conſiderable way into the place, underneath ſome large temple, or other great building little frequented in the night. When they came thither, they cut a large ſpace B, which they propped up with ſtrong timbers C; they then cut the paſſage D, of the whole breadth of the large chamber B, for entering the place in the greater number, whilſt the ſoldiers filed off through the narrow part of the mine E into the chamber B with the utmoſt diligence.

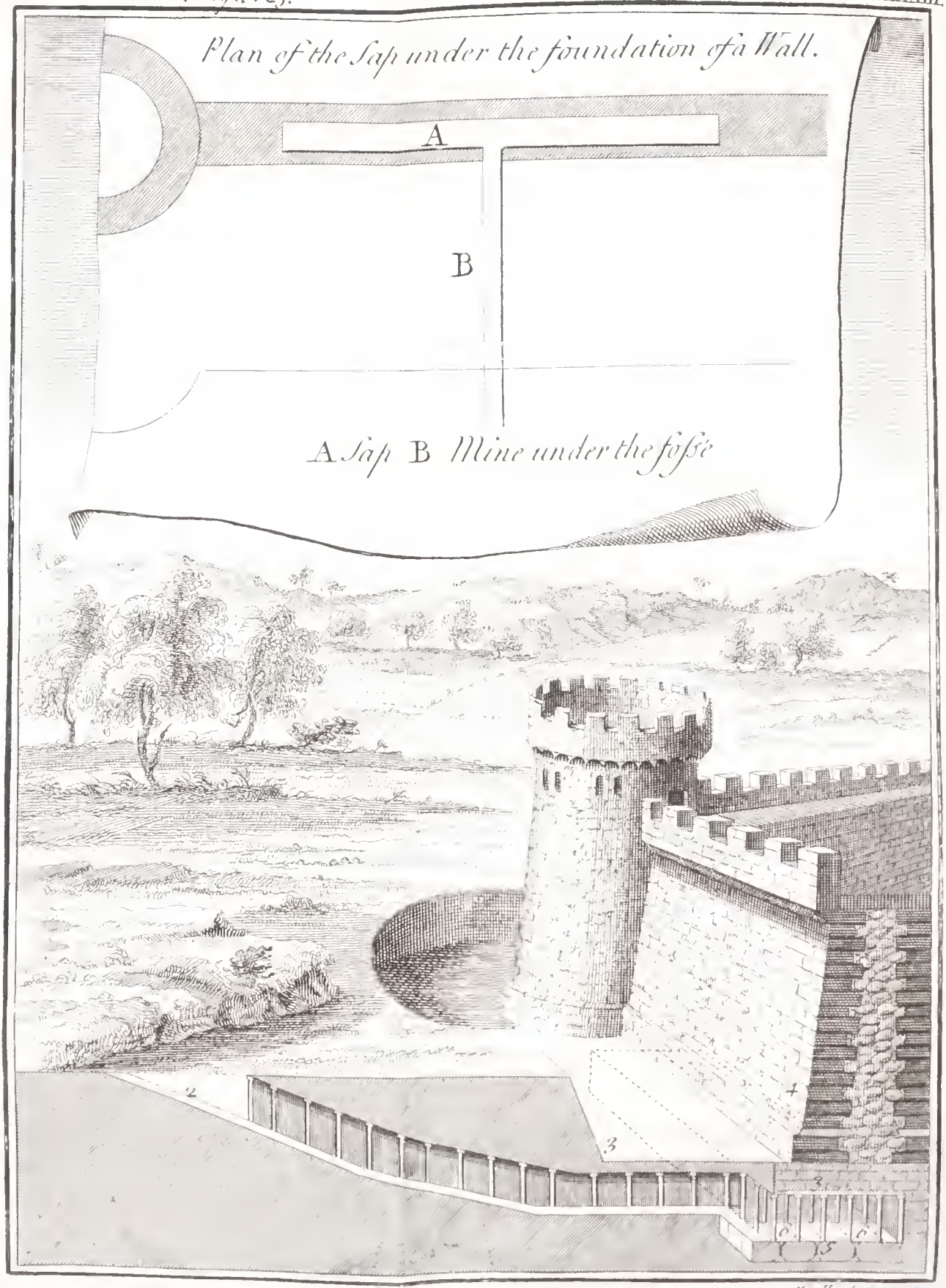


W. H. Toms Sculp.

Mine from the Camp to the Inside of a place.

Appi
bell.
tirid
p. 19

PLATE



Mine for Sapping the foundation of a Wall.

PLATE XLIII. explained.

Mine for ſapping the foundations of a wall.

THE mine (2) was opened very near the camp, to avoid its being diſcovered, and was carried under the foſsé to the foot of the wall (4), when it was enlarged to the right and left of the foundations (5). This latter part ought to be very large for receiving the great number of workmen, and long in proportion to the extent of the wall to be thrown down. This being done, they began to ſap at bottom, and as the ſtones were pulled out, and the work advanced, they propped the ſuperſtructure with timbers four feet high (6) upon the bottom ſtones of the foundation (5). Aſſoon as the work was finiſhed, they laid faggots and other combuſtibles between the props, and after they had ſet them on fire, they quitted that part of the mine, and repaſſed the foſsè to avoid being ſtifled by the ſmoke; beſides which, there was reaſon to fear, that the wall in falling would break into the mine, and bury all under it in its ruins.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Means uſed in repairing breaches.

THE ancients uſed ſeveral methods to defend themſelves againſt the enemy after the breach was made.

Sometimes, but not ſo frequently, they made uſe of trees cut down, which they extended along the whole front of the breach very near each other, in order that the branches might mingle together; they tied the trunks very firmly to one another, ſo that it was impoſſible to ſeparate theſe trees, which formed an impenetrable fence, behind which a multitude of ſoldiers were poſted, armed with pikes and long partiſans.

The breaches were ſometimes made ſo ſuddenly, either by ſaps above, or under ground, or by the violent blows of the rams, that the beſieged often found their works laid open, when they leaſt thought of it. They had recourſe on ſuch occaſions to a very ſimple refuge, in order to gain time to look about them, and to intrench behind the breach. They threw down upon the ruins of the wall a prodigious quantity of dry wood, and other combuſtible matter, to which they ſet fire: this occaſioned ſo violent a flame, that it was impoſſible for the beſieged to paſs thro' it or approach the breach. The garriſon of Haliartus in Bœotia thought of this remedy againſt the Romans. Liv. l. 42 n. 63.

But the moſt uſual method was to erect new walls behind the breaches, which are now called

led in French, *retirades*, retrenchments. Theſe works generally were not parallel with the ruined walls. They deſcribed a kind of ſemicircle towards the place, of which the two ends joined the two ſides of the wall that remained whole. They did not omit to cut a very large and deep foſsé before this work, in order that the beſieged might be under the neceſſity of attacking it with no leſs difficulty, and all the machines employed againſt the ſtrongeſt walls.

Sylla, having beat down great part of the walls of the Piræum with his battering rams, cauſed the breach to be immediately attacked, where ſo furious a battle enſued, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. The beſieged, improving the opportunity this gave them, immediately ran a ſecond wall behind the breach. Sylla, perceiving it, made his machines advance to batter it, rightly judging, that being newly built, it could not long reſiſt their violence. The effect anſwered with no great difficulty, and he immediately ordered the aſſault to be given. The action was warm and vigorous; but he was at laſt repulſed with loſs, and obliged to abandon his deſign. Hiſtory abounds with examples of this kind.

Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 194.

PLATE

PLATE XLIV. explained.

Entrenchments of the ancients behind breaches.

A ENtrenchment in form of an angle reverſed; it was ſometimes in the form of a ſection of a circle.

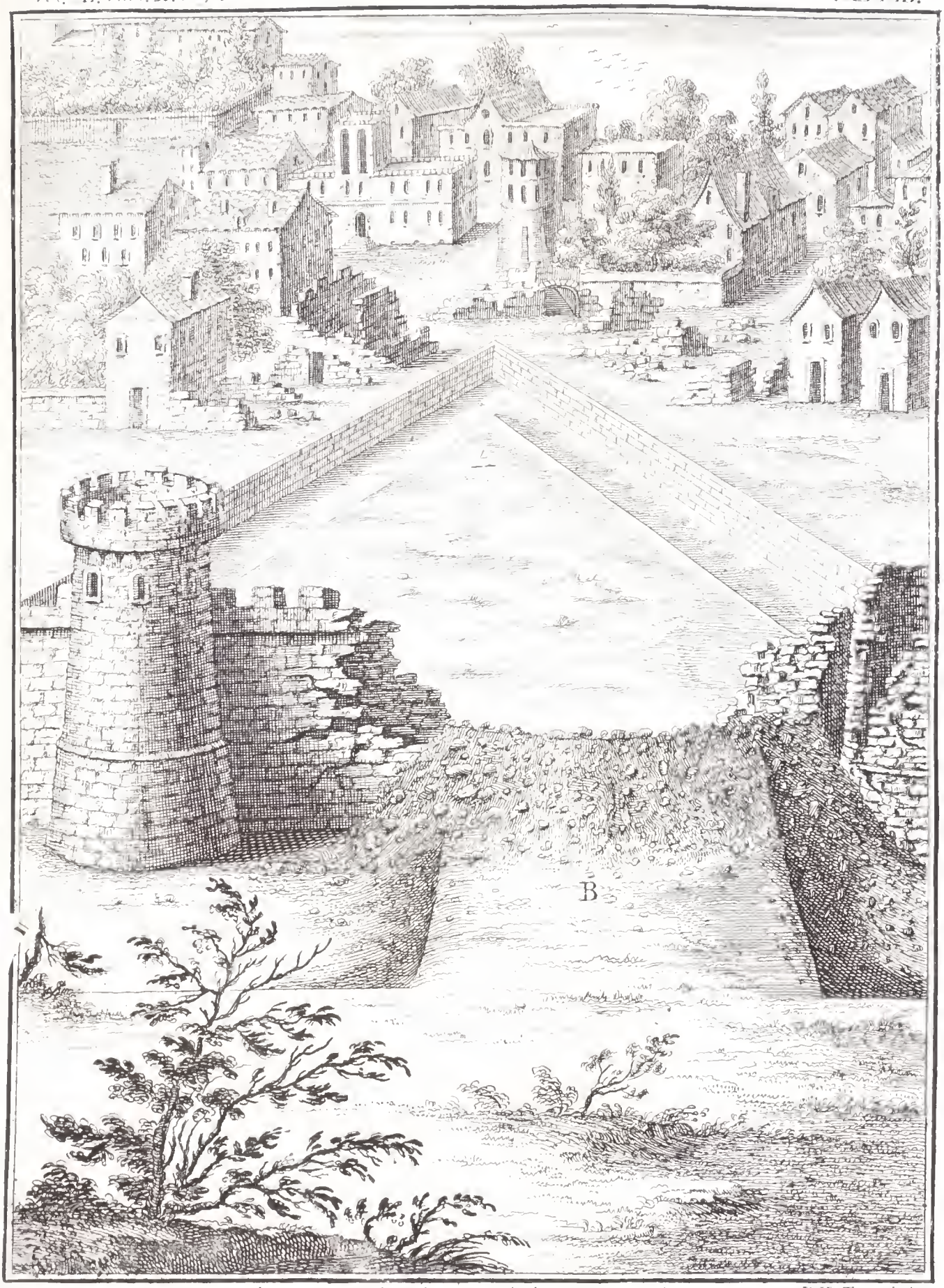
B The lodgment of the beſiegers upon the ruins of the breach, which was ſometimes made level for the paſſage of the machines to batter the new work.

SECT. IV.

Attack and defence of places by machines.

THE machines moſt uſed in ſieges were, as I have obſerved before, the catapulta, baliſta, tortoiſes, battering rams, and moving towers. To know the force of them, the reader need only turn back to the relations of the moſt important ſieges treated in this hiſtory, ſuch as thoſe of Lilybæum in Sicily by the Romans; of Carthage by Scipio; of Syracuſe, firſt by the Athenians, and afterwards by Marcellus; of Tyre by Alexander; of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes; and of Athens by Sylla.

I ſhall cite here no more than one, of which I ſhall repeat only ſome detached, but very proper, circumſtances, in my opinion, to ſhew the manner in which the ancients attacked and defended



Entrenchments of the Ancients behind Breaches.

B.H. Toms Sculp.

defended places, and the uſe they made of machines of war. This is the famous ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, related at large by the hiſtorian Joſephus, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole.

The city of Jeruſalem was fortified with a triple wall, except on the ſide of the valleys, where there was but one, becauſe they were inacceſſible. Joſeph. bell. Jud. l. 1.

Titus began by cauſing all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and made uſe of that wood in erecting ſeveral platforms or terraſſes. The whole army were employed in this work; the workmen were covered by hurdles and gabions. The Jews omitted nothing on their ſide, that might contribute to their defence: the ramparts were ſoon covered with a great number of machines.

The firſt wall was firſt attacked. When the platforms were erected, Titus cauſed the rams to be planted upon them, with the other machines to annoy the enemy, and battered the wall in three different places. The Jews perpetually poured an incredible number of fires and darts upon theſe machines, and the ſoldiers that worked the rams. They made alſo ſeveral ſallies to ſet them on fire, and were repulſed with great difficulty.

Titus had cauſed three towers to be erected on theſe platforms, each of ſeventy five feet in height, to command the ramparts and works of the place. In the night, one of theſe towers fell of itſelf, and occaſioned a great conſternation throughout the whole army. They galled the beſieged exceedingly, for they were full of portable machines, ſlingers, and archers,

chers, who poured a continual ſhower of darts, arrows, and ſtones upon them, which they did not know how to remedy, becauſe they could neither raiſe platforms of an equal height with thoſe towers, nor throw them down, they were ſo ſtrong; nor burn them, becauſe covered all over with plates of iron. Nothing therefore being able to retard the effect of the rams, and thoſe dreadful machines perpetually advancing, the Jews abandoned the firſt wall, after a defence of fifteen days. The Romans entered the breach without difficulty, and opened the gates to the reſt of the army.

The ſecond wall gave them no great trouble: Titus ſoon made himſelf maſter of that with the new city. The Jews then made very extraordinary efforts, and drove him out of them, and it was not till a continual and very rude battle of four days, that he regained them.

But the third wall coſt him much labour and blood, the Jews refuſing to hearken to any propoſals of peace, and defending themſelves with an obſtinacy, that reſembled rather the madneſs and fury of men in deſpair, than valour and fortitude.

Titus divided his army into two bodies, in order to form two attacks on the ſide of the fort Antonia, and made his troops work in erecting four terraſſes, upon each of which a legion was employed. Though the work was carried on night and day, it took up above fifteen days to compleat it; at the end of which the machines were planted upon it. John and Simon were at the head

head of the ſeditious, who ruled all things in the city. The firſt cauſed a mine to be ran as far as the terraſs in the front of the fort Antonia, the ground under it to be ſupported by props, a great quantity of wood prepared with roſin and pitch to be carried into it, and then ordered it to be ſet on fire. The props being ſoon conſumed, the terraſs fell in with a dreadful noiſe. Two days after, Simon attacked the other terraſſes, upon which the beſiegers had placed their rams, and begun to batter the wall. Three young officers, followed by ſoldiers as determinate as themſelves, opened their way with torches in their hands through the midſt of their enemies, as if they had nothing to fear from the multitude of darts and ſwords, and did not retire till they had ſet fire to the machines. When the flames began to riſe, the Romans ran from their camp to ſave their machines. The Jews repulſed them by the ſhower of darts from the top of their walls, where they had three hundred catapultæ and forty baliſtæ. They alſo ſallied in large bodies, and deſpiſing danger, came to blows with thoſe who advanced to extinguiſh the fire. The Romans uſed their utmoſt endeavours to draw off their rams, of which the covers were burnt; and the Jews, to prevent them, continued amidſt the flames without giving way. The fire from the machines catched the terraſſes, the Romans not being able to hinder it. So that, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides with the flames, and deſpairing of all means to preſerve their works, they retreated to their camp. They were inconſoleable for having loſt in one hour, by the ruin of their works, what had coſt them ſo much time

and pains, and many, ſeeing all their machines deſtroyed, deſpaired of ever being able to take the place.

But Titus did not loſe courage. Having called a great council of war, he propoſed the building of a wall round the city, to deprive the beſieged of all hopes of receiving aid or proviſions, of which they began to be in want. This advice was generally approved, and the troops recovered ſpirit. But what ſeems incredible, and was truly worthy of the Romans, is, that this great work, which appeared to require three months for the execution of it, the city being two leagues in circumference, was begun and finiſhed in three days. The city being incloſed in this manner, the troops were poſted in the towers with which the new wall was flanked at proper diſtances. Titus at the ſame time cauſed four more terraſſes to be raiſed againſt the fort Antonia, larger than the former. They were compleated in twenty one days, notwithſtanding the difficulty of finding the wood neceſſary for ſo great a work.

John, who commanded in fort Antonia, in order to prevent the danger conſequential of a breach's being made by the beſiegers, loſt no time in fortifying himſelf; and to try all things before the rams began to batter, he made a ſally with torches in hand, in order to ſet fire to the enemy's works, but was obliged to return without being able to approach them.

The Romans then advanced their rams to batter the tower Antonia: but ſeeing, notwithſtanding reiterated efforts, that they could not make a breach, they reſolved to ſap it, and covering themſelves with their bucklers

in form of a tortoiſe, againſt the quantity of ſtones and flints, which the Jews poured down upon them, they perſevered to work in ſuch a manner with their leavers and hands, that they looſened four of the ſtones in the foundation of the tower. Night obliged both ſides to ſome reſpite: and in that time, the part of the wall, under which John had cauſed the mine to be run, by the means of which he had ruined the firſt terraſſes of the Romans, being weakened by the ſtrokes they had given it, fell down on a ſudden. The Jews the ſame moment raiſed another wall behind it.

As it was ſo newly built, it was expected, that it would be the more eaſily thrown down: but nobody dared be the firſt to aſſault it, ſo much the determinate courage of the Jews had diſmayed the troops. Several attempts were however made, but without ſucceſs. Providence opened them another way. Some ſoldiers, who guarded the terraſſes, got up without noiſe towards the cloſe of the night by the ruins of the wall into the fort Antonia. They found the centinels upon the advanced poſts aſleep, and cut their throats. Having made themſelves maſters of the wall in this manner, they cauſed their trumpets to ſound, which they had taken care to bring with them. Upon that alarm, the guards at the other poſts, imagining the number of the Romans much greater than it was, were ſeized with ſuch fear that they fled. Titus came up ſoon after with part of his troops, and entering by the ſame ruins purſued the Jews to the gates of the temple, which they defended with incredible valour. The action was very hot, and conti-

nued at leaſt ten hours. But at length the fury and deſpair of the Jews, who ſaw their ſafety depended upon the ſucceſs of this battle, prevailed over the valour and experience of the Romans. The latter thought proper to content themſelves with having taken fort Antonia, though only a part of their army was preſent in the battle.

Several other aſſaults paſſed which I omit. The greateſt of the rams, that Titus had cauſed to be made, and planted upon the platform, battered the walls of the temple continually for ſix days, without being able to make any more progreſs than the reſt; of ſuch proof was that ſuperb edifice againſt their efforts. The Romans having loſt all hopes of ſucceeding by attacks of this kind, reſolved to proceed by ſcaling the walls. The Jews, who had not foreſeen it, could not prevent them from planting their ladders. But never was reſiſtance greater than theirs. They threw down ſuch as had got on the wall, killed thoſe upon the upper ſteps of the ladders before they could cover themſelves with their ſhields, and even threw down the ladders quite covered with ſoldiers, which coſt the Romans many men. The reſt were obliged to retire without being able to ſucceed in the attempt.

The Jews made many ſallies, in which they fought with the utmoſt fury and deſperation, and killed abundance of the Romans. But Titus at laſt made himſelf maſter of the temple, to which, notwithſtanding the moſt ſevere orders to the contrary, a ſoldier ſet fire,

and it was consumed entirely. And thus the prediction of Jesus Christ concerning it was accomplished.

CHAPTER III.

Of the navies of the ancients.

I Have already spoke elsewhere of the maritime affairs of the ancients, their ships, and naval troops. I must beg the reader to have recourse to what I have said there, to supply what may be wanting in this place. Vol. IV. p. 341.

Nothing certain can be said concerning the origin of navigation. We may however be assured, that the oldest vessel mentioned in history is Noah's ark, of which God himself gave the design, and directed the form and all the measures, but solely with the view which he had of its containing the family of Noah, and all the animals of the earth and air.

This art without doubt was in its beginning gross and imperfect: planks, rafts, small boats, and little barks. The manner in which fish move in the water, and birds in the air, might suggest to mankind the thoughts of imitating the aids nature has given those animals by oars and sails. However it were, they have attained by degrees the art of building vessels in the perfection we now see them.

The ships of the ancients may be divided into two species: those for transporting mer-

chandize, * *onerariæ naves*; and ſhips of war, often called long ſhips, *longæ naves*.

The firſt were ſmall veſſels, which were commonly called *open barks*, becauſe they had no deck. Theſe little barks had no beaks, called *roſtra*, uſed in ſea-fights, to run againſt and ſink the enemy's ſhips.

The long ſhips uſed in war were of two ſorts. The one had only one bench of oars on each ſide, the other more.

Of thoſe which had only one bench, ſome had twenty oars, εἰκόσοροι; others thirty, τριηκόντεροι; ſome fifty, πεντηκόντεροι; or even an hundred, ἑκατόντεροι. Nothing is more common than theſe names of ſhips in Greek authors. The rowers were placed half on one ſide of the veſſel, and half on the other, on the ſame line.

Amongſt the veſſels of ſeveral benches of oars, ſome had two only, *biremes*; others three, *triremes*; ſome four, *quadriremes*; others five, *quinqueremes*; and others a greater number, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Thoſe moſt ſpoken of by authors, and of which the ancients made moſt uſe in battles, were the *triremes* and *quinqueremes*: by which names the reader will permit me to expreſs the ſhips with three and five benches of oars.

We find in all the ancient authors a clear and evident diſtinction between theſe two ſorts of veſſels. Some were called τριηκόντεροι, *ſhips of thirty oars*; πεντηκόντεροι, *ſhips of fifty oars*, &c. and theſe were ranked in the number of ſmall ſhips. We ſhall ſee preſently the difference there was in the number of the crews on board each of them. The latter were diſtinguiſhed

* Bomilcar centum triginta navibus longis, & ſeptingentis onerariis profectus. *Liv.* l. 25. n. 27.

by

by their ſeveral benches of oars, as well as magnitude. And Livy ſays expreſsly: *Quinqueremis Romana——pluribus remorum ordinibus ſcindentibus vortices*; as well as Virgil, *Terno conſurgunt ordine remi.* It is therefore not to be doubted, that the ancients had ſhips with ſeveral benches of oars, two, three, four, five, ſix, to thirty or forty: but only thoſe of a ſmall number of benches were of uſe: the reſt being only for ſhew. Liv. l. 37. n. 30. Æn. l. 5.

To know of what nature theſe ſeveral benches of oars were, and how they could be put in motion, is a difficulty, and has always been a matter of diſpute amongſt the learned moderns, which in all probability may continue for ever undecided. The moſt able and experienced perſons in naval affairs amongſt us, believe the thing utterly impoſſible. And indeed it would be ſo, if we ſuppoſe, that theſe different ranks of oars were placed perpendicularly over one another. But we ſee the contrary upon Trajan's column, on which the biremes and triremes have their benches placed obliquely, and, as it were, by ſteps one above the other.

The arguments oppoſed to the opinion of thoſe who admit ſeveral ranks of oars in veſſels, are, it muſt be owned, very ſtrong and concluſive: but what force can the beſt reaſons in the world have againſt real facts, and an experience confirmed by the teſtimony of all the ancient writers.

It appears, that the rowers were diſtinguiſhed from the place or ſtep where they ſate. The loweſt were called *Thalamites*, thoſe in the middle *Zugites*, and thoſe above, *Thranites*. The latter had larger pay than the others, without Interp. Ariſtoph. in Ranit. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 431.

doubt, becauſe they handled longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the lower benches.

It is ſtill a queſtion, whether in great ſhips each oar had only one man to it, or more, as now in the galleys of France. In the biremes and triremes on the column of Trajan, there is only one rower to a bench on each ſide. It is very probable, that there were more in larger veſſels: but I avoid entering into diſcuſſions, which would carry me a great way beyond the extent of my plan.

There are deſcriptions in Athenæus of ſhips of aſtoniſhing and incredible magnitude. The two firſt were Ptolemy Philopator's, king of Egypt. One of them carried forty benches of oars, and was four hundred feet long, and fifty ſeven broad. Four thouſand rowers hardly ſufficed to put this enormous hulk in motion. It was launched by a machine, compoſed of as much wood as was neceſſary in making fifty ſhips of five benches of oars. How ſhall we conceive the making uſe of the fifty benches of oars in this veſſel? But indeed it was only for ſhew.

Athen. l 3. p. 203—206.

The other ſhip called *Talamega*, becauſe it had beds and apartments in it, was three hundred and twelve feet and an half in length, and forty five in its greateſt breadth. Its height, including the tent or pavilion upon its deck, was almoſt ſixty feet. All around it, (except the head) there was a double gallery of immenſe extent. It was really a floating palace. Ptolemy cauſed it to be built to carry himſelf and his whole court upon the Nile. Athenæus does not mention the number of its ranks or benches of oars.

The

The third veſſel is that which Hiero II, king of Syracuſe, cauſed to be built under the direction of the famous Archimedes. It had twenty benches of oars, and was of incredible magnificence. No port of Sicily being capable of containing it, Hiero made a preſent of it to Ptolomy Philopator, and ſent it to Alexandria. Though the hold or ſink was very deep, one man emptied it by the means of a machine invented by Archimedes. Ibid. p. 206, 209.

Theſe veſſels, which were only for ſhew, have, properly ſpeaking, no relation to the ſubject I treat. As much may be ſaid of that of Philip, the father of Perſeus, mentioned by Livy. It had ſixteen benches of oars: but could ſcarce be made to move, upon account of its magnitude.

What Plutarch ſays of the gallies of Demetrius Poliorcetes is very ſurprizing, and he takes care to apprize the reader that he ſpeaks with the ſtricteſt truth, and without any exaggeration. That prince, who 'tis known, was well verſed in the arts, and very inventive in regard to machines of war, had alſo cauſed ſeveral galleys of fifteen and ſixteen benches of oars to be built; not merely for oſtentation, as he made a wonderful uſe of them in battles and ſieges. Lyſimachus, not being able to believe what was ſaid of them, ſent to deſire him, though his enemy, to let his galleys row before him: and when he had ſeen their ſwift and eaſy motion, he was inexpreſſibly ſurprized, and could ſcarce venture to believe his own eyes. Theſe veſſels were of aſtoniſhing beauty and magnificence; but their lightneſs and agility ſeemed ſtill more Plut. in Demetr. p. 897.

worthy

worthy of admiration, than their ſize and ſplendor.

But we will confine ourſelves to thoſe which were more known and common, I mean, principally the galleys of three, four, and five benches of oars; and obſerve upon the uſe made of them in battles.

Thucyd. l. 1. p. 8—10.

There is no mention in Homer of veſſels with ſeveral benches of oars: it was not till after the Trojan war that the uſe of them was introduced: and the æra unknown. The Corinthians were the firſt, who changed the antient form of the galleys, and built thoſe of three benches of oars, and perhaps alſo of five. Syracuſe, a Corinthian colony, piqued herſelf, eſpecially in the time of Dionyſius the elder, upon imitating the induſtry of the city, from which ſhe derived her origin; and even at length ſurpaſſed it, by carrying that to perfection, which the former had only deſigned. The wars, which ſhe had to ſupport againſt Carthage, obliged her to devote all her cares and application to naval affairs. Thoſe two cities were at that time the greateſt maritime powers in the world.

Greece, in general, had not yet diſtinguiſhed herſelf in this reſpect. It had been the plan and deſign of Lycurgus abſolutely to prohibit the uſe of navigation to his citizens; and that from two motives, equally worthy the wiſe and profound policy of that legiſlator. His firſt view was to remove from his republick all commerce with ſtrangers, leaſt ſuch mixture ſhould alter the purity of its manners, and weaken the ſeverity of the maxims he had eſtabliſhed. In the ſecond place, he was for baniſhing from the Lacedæmonians

cedæmonians all desire of aggrandizing themselves, and all hope of making conquests; considering that dire ambition as the ruin of states. Sparta therefore at first had only a very small number of ships.

Athens was originally no better provided with them. It was Themistocles, who penetrating into the future, and foreseeing at a distance what they had to apprehend from the Persians, converted the whole power of Athens into a maritime force, equipped upon a different pretext a numerous fleet, and by that wise provision, preserved Greece, obtained immortal glory for his country, and put it into a condition to become in a short time superiour to all the neighbouring states.

During almost five ages, Rome, if Polybius may be believed, was entirely ignorant of what a vessel, galley, or fleet were. As she was solely employed in subjecting the states around, she had no occasion for them. When she began to send her troops into Sicily, she had not a single bark of her own, and borrowed vessels of her neighbours to transport her armies. But she soon perceived, that she could not oppose the Carthaginians, whilst they were masters of the sea. She therefore conceived the design of disputing the empire of it with them, and of equipping a fleet. A quinqueremis, which the Romans had taken from the enemy, gave birth to the thought, and served them for a model. In less than two months they built an hundred galleys of five, and twenty of three benches of oars. They formed mariners and rowers by an exercise before unknown to them; and in the first battle they gave the Carthaginians, they overcame

Polyb. l. 1. p. 25.

came them, though the moſt powerful nation of the world by ſea, and the moſt expert in naval affairs.

Herod. l. 7. c. 89. The fleet of Xerxes, when it ſet out from Aſia to attack Greece, conſiſted of more than twelve hundred galleys with three benches of oars, of which each carried two hundred and thirty men; and three thouſand galleys of thirty or fifty oars, beſides tranſports, which one with another carried fourſcore men. The other galleys, ſupplied by the provinces of Europe, had each two hundred men on board. Thoſe which ſet out from Athens, during the Peloponneſian war, to attack the Syracuſans, carried as many. From whence we may ſuppoſe the uſual compliment of thoſe veſſels was two hundred men.

I could have wiſhed, that hiſtorians had diſtinguiſhed clearly in regard to theſe two hundred men, who were the compliment of the ſhips; how many of them were merely ſeamen, and how many ſoldiers. Plutarch, in ſpeaking of thoſe of the Athenians, that were in the battle of Salamin, obſerves, that each of the hundred and fourſcore galleys, of which their fleet conſiſted, had only eighteen fighting men on board, of whom four were archers, and the reſt heavy-armed troops: which is a very ſmall number.

Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119.

Herod. l. 8. c. 84—96. The battle of Salamin is one of the moſt famous of antiquity: but we have no very particular account of it. The Athenians diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it by invincible valour, and their commander ſtill more by his ability and prudence. He perſuaded the Greeks, not without much difficulty, to ſtop in a ſtreight, which rendered

rendered the ſuperiority in number of the Perſian veſſels uſeleſs: and he delayed engaging, till a certain wind very contrary to the enemy began to blow.

The laſt battle of the Athenians, in the port of Syracuſe, occaſioned their ruin. Becauſe they exceedingly apprehended the beaks of the enemy's galleys, of which they had made a ſad experience in the former actions, Nicias had provided grappling irons in order to prevent their effect, and come immediately to blows as upon ſhore. But the enemy, who perceived it, covered the heads and upper parts of their galleys with leather, in order to give leſs hold to the grapples, and avoid being boarded. Their diſcharges did much greater execution. The Athenians were overwhelmed by an hail of ſtones, which never miſſed their aim, whilſt their darts and arrows were almoſt always ineffectual, from the motion and agitation of the veſſels. Their antient glory and power ſuffered ſhipwreck in this laſt battle.

Polybius has a ſhort but very fine deſcription of a ſea-fight, which was to the Romans an happy omen of the future, and made way for the conqueſts, which were to aſſure them of the empire of the ſea. It is that of Myla in Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, in which the conſul Duillius commanded. I have related it in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. What is particular in this battle, is a machine of a new invention, made faſt to the top of the heads of the Roman ſhips, and called *Corvus*. It was a kind of crane, drawn up on high and ſuſpended by cords, which had an heavy cone of iron, called *Corvus*, at its extremity that was let down with

with impetuoſity upon the ſhips of the enemy, to break through the planks of the decks, and grapple them. This machine was the principal cauſe of the victory, the firſt the Romans ever gained at ſea.

PLATE XLV. explained.

Grappling Corvus (or crane) of Duillius.

THIS Corvus, or crane, conſiſted of the maſt or tree (2) fixed in the forecaſtle (3), of the height of four fathom, and about twelve or ſixteen inches in diameter. Upon the top of it there was an iron pivot (4), upon which turned the neck of the crane (5) with the Corvus (6) very ſharp pointed. The Corvus hung by the rope (8), which ran through a pulley at the end of the neck of the crane. When the end of this rope (9) was let go, it fell with ſuch a force into the enemy's ſhip, that it pierced through the deck in the forecaſtle; but as it might come out again through the ſame hole, it was neceſſary to add the moveable hooks (10) that were affixed to it in the manner of hinges, ſo that when the Corvus pierced through the deck they gave way, and opened again of themſelves immediately, to ſeize whatever they were drawn againſt. The Corvus was let fall, when within the proper diſtance from the enemy's ſhip, from the higheſt part of the neck of the crane (5), and as ſoon as it had grappled, the bridge (11), with iron claws to faſten by, was let down.

PLATE



XLV. *Grappling Corvus of Duillius.*

iron claws to fasten by, was let down.

PLATE



XLVI. *The Dolphin of the Greeks.*

PLATE XLVI. explained.

The Dolphin of the Greeks.

THIS machine, like the former, was only a maſs of caſt iron (2) which hung at the yards of ſhips. It muſt have been of an exceſſive weight, to have produced the effects related of it by authors. It was in uſe amongſt the Greeks, according to Suidas, and the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes. They called it a Dolphin, perhaps from its being of a ſimilar form to that fiſh; it hung by a cord at the end of the yard, from whence it was let fall upon the enemy's ſhip, which it pierced from the deck to the hold. In the famous battle in one of the ports of Syracuſe, the Athenians having been defeated, the Syracuſans purſued them towards the ſhore, but were ſtopped, ſays Thucydides, by the yards of the Athenian ſhips, at the ends of which hung Dolphins of lead, capable of ſinking them: two of their ſhips, that went too near them, actually were ſunk. Authors do not mention the origin of theſe machines.

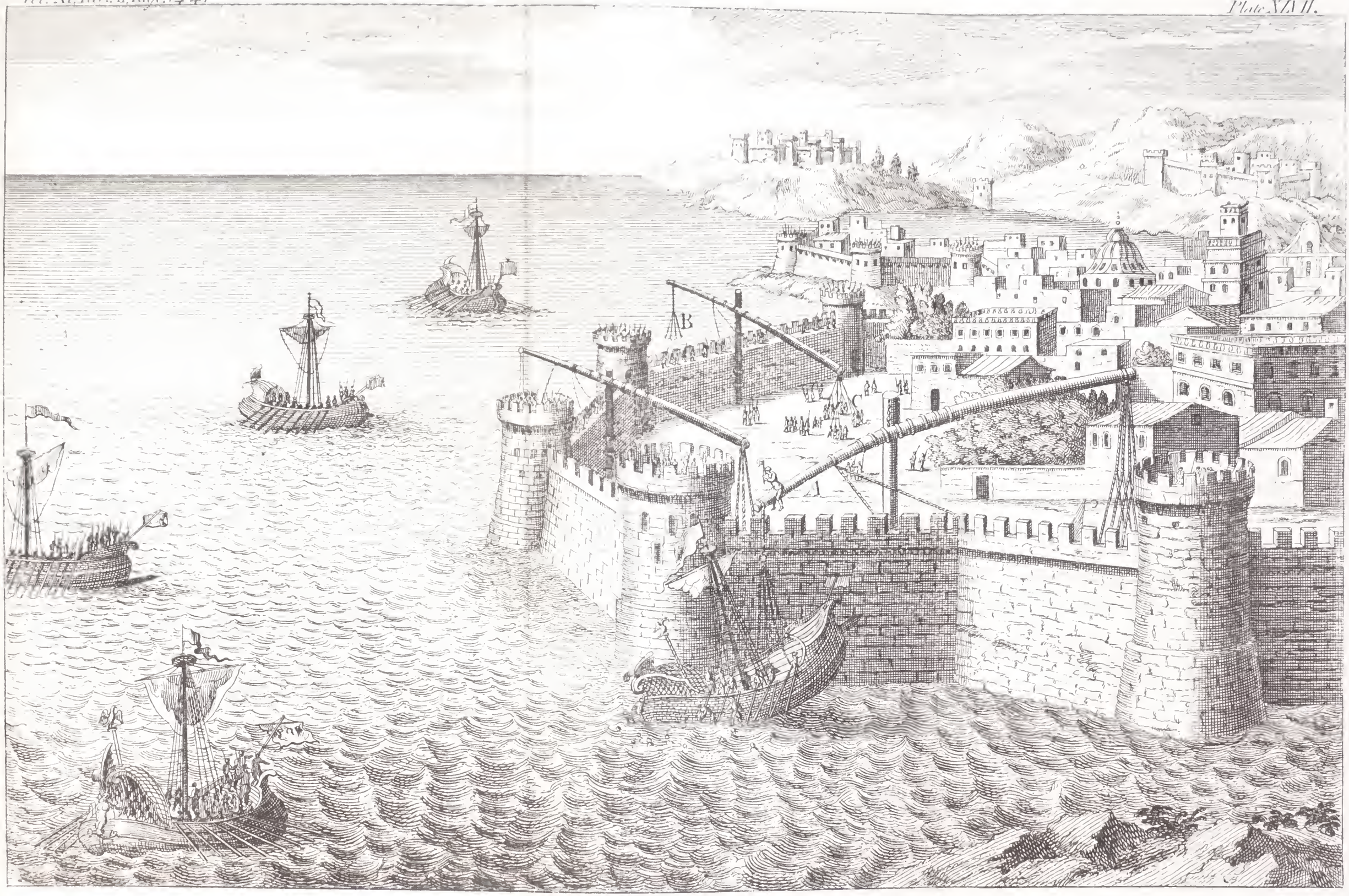
PLATE XLVII. explained.

Corvus (or crane) of Archimedes, according to Polybius and Plutarch, for ſeizing and lifting ſhips out of the water.

FROM what Plutarch ſays, the Corvus of Archimedes ſeems to have been a kind of crane, with the addition of ſeveral other powers of motion, not uſed by the moderns with that kind of machine.

Polybius expreſsly ſays, that it conſiſted of a balance and a leaver, which ſeems moſt probable, thoſe powers being moſt capable of producing the effects aſcribed to it, as well as of being worked with more expedition and eaſe. It was undoubtedly a beam or maſt of prodigious length, conſiſting of ſeveral pieces or maſts joined together, to render it the ſtronger and the leſs flexible. Theſe were very well ſtrengthened in the middle with iron work, and bound from ſpace to ſpace with cordage, like the maſt of a ſhip compoſed of ſeveral pieces. This enormous beam was lengthened by another of almoſt equal ſtrength.

This vaſt leaver muſt have been ſuſpended, almoſt in the nature of a crane, to a great tree fixed upright, and made faſt within the wall by ſtrong rings of iron wound about with cords, as in the plate.



Corvus (or Crane) of Archimedes according to Polybius and Plutarch for seizing and lifting Ships out of the Water.

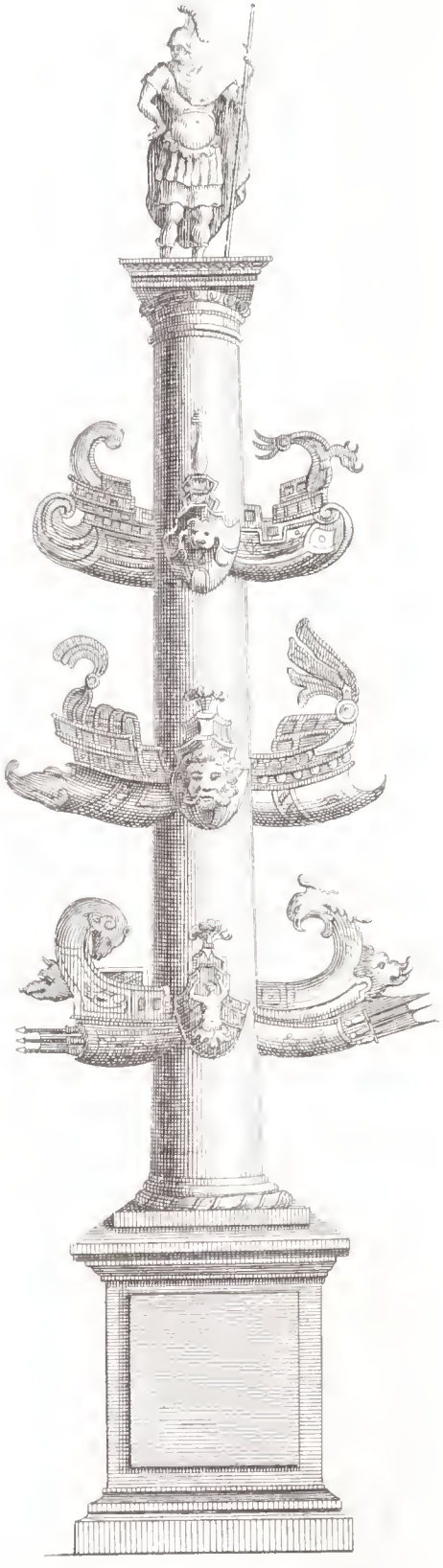
The leaver, being firmly ſlung in this manner by a vaſt cable or chain to the tree that ſupports it, had the greater effect, in proportion to the diſtance of the power or line of direction from the center of motion, (at the beam to which it was faſtened) by adding other powers A, acting perpendicularly, or drawing directly down from the ſame point with the line of direction.

At the extremity of this vaſt leaver were ſeveral grapplings, like flooks of anchors B, hanging at the end of chains, which were flung over the ſhips, when they came within reach of the machine. A conſiderable number of men C lowered the end of this leaver by the means of cords, made faſt to two great cables at the ends of it. As ſoon as the iron claws had taken hold, a ſignal was given to theſe workmen C, and the end of the leaver within the walls drawn down, whilſt the other roſe up, carrying the ſhip with it to a certain height, which after was either beat to pieces by vibration againſt the walls, or let fall into the ſea by cutting the great cable, at the end of which the ſhip hung by the chains, and claws or flooks.

PLATE XLVIII. explained.

Columna roſtrata: *or naval trophy erected in memory of the victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.*

THIS was the firſt victory gained by the Romans at ſea. Florus tells us, that they erected a column, or naval trophy, with an inſcription in memory of it. This is undoubtedly true, for about the end of the ſixteenth century, part of it was dug up at Rome. Theſe columns were called *Roſtrata*, from *roſtra*, the beaks of ſhips, with which they were adorned, and which projected from the pillar, and were diſpoſed, as in the plate.



XLVIII

Columna Rostrata or Naval Trophy erected in memory of the Victory of Duillius over the Carthaginians.

The ſame Polybius deſcribes more extenſively a famous naval battle near Ecnoma, a city of Sicily. The Romans, commanded by the conſuls Attilius Regulus, and L. Manlius, had three hundred and thirty deck-ſhips, and an hundred and forty thouſand men, each veſſel carrying three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty ſoldiers. The Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hanno and Amilcar had three hundred and fifty veſſels, and above one hundred and fifty thouſand men. The deſign of the former was to carry the war into Africa, which the others were extremely intereſted to prevent. Every thing therefore was diſpoſed for a battle.

The order of battle of the Romans at this time was entirely unuſual. They did not draw up in one or more lines, which was very common, leaſt the enemy ſhould get between their lines with the advantage of their number, and took care to face on all ſides. Beſides which, as the enemy's ſtrength conſiſted in the agility of their ſhips, they thought it neceſſary to row in an oblique line, and obſerve an order of battle not eaſy to be broke.

For this purpoſe, the two ſhips of ſix benches, on board of which were the conſuls Regulus and Manlius, were placed in the front, ſide by ſide. They were each followed by a file of ſhips; called the firſt and ſecond fleet. The veſſels of each file ſtood off, and enlarged the file as they drew up, turning their heads outwards. The two firſt fleets being thus drawn up in the form of a beak or wedge, the third line of ſhips was formed, called the third fleet. This cloſed the ſpace, and faced the enemy;

ſo that this order of battle had the form of a triangle. Theſe three lines compoſed a kind of divided Whole, conſiſting of three fleets; for ſo they were called. This third line, or third fleet, towed the tranſports, on board of which were the cavalry, which formed a ſecond body. And laſtly, the fourth fleet, or the Triarii, (for ſo it was called) brought up the rear, in ſuch a manner, that it extended beyond the two ſides of the line in front of it: and this was the third body. In this diſpoſition the order of battle repreſented a wedge or beak, of which the forepart was hollow, and the baſe ſolid; but the whole ſtrong, fit for action, and hard to break.

The Carthaginians, on their ſide, drew up almoſt their whole fleet in one line. The right wing commanded by Hanno, and conſiſting of the lighteſt and nimbleſt galleys, advanced very much a head of the fleet, to ſurround thoſe of the enemy, that were oppoſite to it, and had their heads all facing towards it. The left wing, conſiſting of the fourth part of the fleet, was drawn up in form of an horn-work, or gibbet, and inclined towards the coaſt. Amilcar, as admiral, commanded the centre, and this left wing. He made uſe of ſtratagem to ſeparate the Roman fleet. The latter, who aſſured themſelves of victory over a fleet drawn up with ſo great an extent, began, by attacking the centre, which had orders to retire by little and little, as if giving way to the enemy, and preparing to fly. The Romans did not fail to purſue them. By which movement the firſt and ſecond fleet (we have before obſerved which to diſtinguiſh by thoſe names) parted from the third, that had

had the tranſports in tow, and the fourth, in which were the Triarii deſigned to ſupport them. When they were at a certain diſtance, upon a ſignal given from Amilcar's galley, the Carthaginians fell all at once upon the veſſels that purſued them. The Carthaginians had the advantage of the Romans in the nimbleneſs of their ſhips, and the addreſs and facility with which they either advanced or retired: but the vigour of the Romans in the charge, their cranes for grappling the enemy's veſſels, the preſence of the two conſuls, who fought at their head, and in whoſe ſight they were infinitely ardent to ſignalize themſelves, inſpired them with no leſs confidence, than the Carthaginians had on their ſide. Such was the engagement here.

At the ſame time Hanno, who commanded the right wing, fell in with the ſhips of the Triarii, and put them into diſorder and confuſion. On the other ſide, the Carthaginians, who were in form of a fork or gibbet, and near ſhore, drew up in a line, and charged the ſhips that towed the tranſports. The latter immediately let go the cords and came to blows with them, ſo that the whole battle was divided into three parts, which made as many different fights at conſiderable diſtances from each other.

As the forces were very near equal on both ſides, ſo was the advantage at firſt. At length the ſquadron commanded by Amilcar, not being able to reſiſt any longer, was put to flight, and Manlius made faſt the ſhips he had taken to his own. Regulus, at the ſame time, went

to the aid of the Triarii and tranſports, with the veſſels of the ſecond fleet, which had not ſuffered at all. Whilſt he engaged Hanno, the Triarii, who had before given way, reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with vigour. The Carthaginians, attacked in front and rear, could not reſiſt long, and fled.

Whilſt this paſſed Manlius returned, and perceived the third fleet driven cloſe to the ſhore by the left wing of the Carthaginians. The tranſports and Triarii being ſafe, they joined him and Regulus, to make haſte and extricate it out of the danger in which they ſaw it; and it would have been entirely defeated, if the Carthaginians, through fear of being grappled, and thereby reduced to come to blows, had not contented themſelves with ſhutting it in near the ſhore, without daring to attack it. The conſuls, coming up at very good time, ſurrounded the Carthaginians, and took fifty ſail of them with their whole compliments.

Such was the event of this ſea-fight, in which the Romans were entirely victorious. Twenty-four of their ſhips, and above thirty of the Carthaginians periſhed in it. None of the Roman ſhips of war fell into the enemy's hands, who loſt more than ſixty-four.

The Romans never, even in the time of their greateſt power, fitted out in their own names and alone ſo great a fleet as this we now ſpeak of; which Polybius obſerves upon it. Four years before they were abſolutely ignorant of what a fleet was; and

now

now ſet ſail with three hundred and thirty deck-ſhips.

When we conſider the rapidity, with which theſe veſſels were built, we are tempted to imagine, that they were of a very ſmall ſize, and could not contain abundance of hands. We find here the contrary. Polybius tells us a circumſtance, which is no where elſe ſo clearly explained, and which it is extremely important to know: that is, that each galley carried three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty ſoldiers. How much room muſt the rigging, proviſion, water, and other ſtores of ſuch a galley require! We ſee in Livy, that they ſometimes carried proviſions and water for forty-five days, and without doubt ſometimes for a longer term. Liv. l. 29. n. 25.

The Corvus, or crane, of which mention is often made in ſea-fights, a machine for grappling ſhips, ſhews us, that the antients found no means ſo effectual to aſſure themſelves of victory, as to join in cloſe fight, or board the enemy. They often carried baliſtas and catapultas on board to diſcharge darts and ſtones. Though theſe machines, which ſerved them inſtead of our cannon, had ſurprizing effects, they only uſed them, when ſhips were at a certain diſtance, and boarded them as ſoon as poſſible. It is in this indeed, and only in this, that the valour of troops really appears.

The galleys, of which theſe two fleets conſiſted, were of three benches of oars, or at moſt, of five, except thoſe of the two conſuls, which had ſix. At the battle of My-

la, the admiral galley had ſeven benches of oars. It is eaſy to judge, that theſe admiral-galleys were not merely for ſhew, and that they muſt have been of more ſervice in the battle than any of the reſt.

THE

OF THE

Liberal ARTS, and SCIENCES.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are at length arrived at the arts and ſciences, which relate merely to the mind, and are intended to enrich it with all the branches of knowledge, neceſſary to inſtruct man, to give his nobler part all the perfection of which it is capable; to form his underſtanding and heart, and in a word, to enable him to diſcharge the ſeveral functions, to which the divine providence ſhall vouchſafe to call him. For we muſt not deceive ourſelves in this reſpect: The end of the ſciences is neither to become learned ſolely for ourſelves, nor to ſatisfy a reſtleſs and barren curioſity, which draws us on by a ſeducing pleaſure from objects to objects; but to contribute, each in his way, to the general advantage of ſociety. To confine one's labours and ſtudies to one's own ſatisfaction, and to center every thing in one's ſelf, is to be ignorant that man is the part of an whole, to which he ought to adhere and refer himſelf, of which the

the beauty conſiſts eſſentially in the union and harmony of the parts that compoſe it; and which all, though by different means, tend to the ſame end, the publick utility.

It is in this view God diſtributes to mankind their different talents and inclinations, which are ſometimes ſo ſtrongly implanted, that it is almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt them. Every body knows what an inclination the famous Mr. Paſchal had from his earlieſt infancy for geometry, and what a wonderful progreſs he made in it by the pure force of his genius, notwithſtanding the care taken by his father to hide all the books and inſtruments from him, which could give him any idea of it. I could quote a great number of the like examples in every art and ſcience.

A ſequel and effect of theſe natural inclinations, which always denote great talents, is the induſtrious application of the learned to certain ſtudies, often abſtracted and difficult, and ſometimes even diſagreeable and tedious, to which, however, they find a ſecret pleaſure attach them with an almoſt irreſiſtible violence. Who can doubt but this pleaſure is a kind of attractive charm, which providence annexes to certain ſevere and painful labours, in order to ſoften their rigours to theſe purſuers, and to make them ſurmount with courage the obſtacles, which ſooner or later might diſguſt them, if not paſſionate after their object, and actuated by a taſte ſuperiour to all difficulty?

But do we not alſo ſee, that the deſign of God, in diſpencing the talents and inclinations of men with ſo aſtoniſhing a diverſity, has been to enable the learned to be uſeful to ſociety in general,

general, and to obtain for it all the aids in their power? And what can be more glorious and more grateful to them, if they underſtand aright their true glory, than to perceive themſelves ſelected from all mankind, to be miniſters and co operators in the cares of the divine Providence with regard to man, in that very circumſtance, wherein thoſe cares are greateſt and moſt divine; which is in being the guide of the underſtanding, and the light of the ſoul.

Should I be ſuffered, when I behold the infinite variety of the branches of knowledge intended for the inſtruction of man, from Grammar, which is their baſe, to thoſe which are more exalted and ſublime, if I compared them with the aſſemblage of the ſtars diſperſed throughout the vaſt extent of the firmament to diſpel the darkneſs of night? I ſeem to ſee in thoſe bodies a wonderful relation with learning and learned men. They have each their allotted ſphere, in which they conſtantly remain. They all ſhine, but with different ſplendor, ſome more, ſome leſs, without envying each other. They keep always within the paths aſſigned them, without ever deviating to the right or left. In fine, and this, in my opinion, is moſt worthy of attention, they do not ſhine for themſelves, but for him who made them. *Stellæ dederunt lumen in cuſtodiis ſuis, & lætatæ ſunt. Vocatæ ſunt, & dixerunt, adſumus; & luxerunt ei cum jucunditate qui fecit illas. The ſtars ſhined in their watches, and rejoiced: when he calleth them they ſay, here we be, and with chearfulneſs they ſhewed light unto him that made them.* This is our duty and our model: of which I ſay no more. Bar. III. 34.

This

This book contains what relates to Grammarians, Philologers, which term I ſhall explain in its place ; Rhetoricians, and Sophiſts. I muſt premiſe to the reader, that he will find in his progreſs here ſome thorns and difficulties. I have removed abundance, and have left only ſuch as could not be excluded, being obliged to it by the nature of the ſubjects I treat.

CHAPTER I.

OF GRAMMARIANS.

GRAMMAR is the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly.

There is nothing more admirable, nor more worthy of our attention, than the double gift God has conferred upon us of ſpeech and writing. We make continual uſe of them, almoſt without ever reflecting that we do ſo, and without conſidering the amazing wonders both the one and other include.

Speech is one of man's greateſt advantages over all other animals It is one of the greateſt proofs of his reaſon, of which it may be ſaid to be the principal evidence. But by what rare art is it produced, and for how many differerent parts was it neceſſary to unite and concur with each other, to form the voice at the firſt motion of the ſoul!

I have a thought within me, that I deſire to communicate to others, or ſome doubt, in which I would be ſatisfied. Nothing is more of

of the nature of ſpirit, and conſequently more remote from ſenſe, than thought. In what manner therefore ſhall I be able to transfer it from my ſelf to the perſons around me? If I cannot effect this, confined within my ſelf, reduced to me alone, deprived of all commerce, diſcourſe and conſolation, I ſuffer inexpreſſible torments: The moſt numerous aſſembly, the whole world itſelf, is to me no more than an hideous ſolitude. But the divine providence has ſpared me all theſe pains, in affixing ſounds to my ideas, and in making thoſe ſounds ſubſervient to my will, by a natural mechaniſm never to be ſufficiently admired.

At the very inſtant, the exact moment, I would communicate my thoughts to others, my lungs, throat, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, and an infinity of other organs, which depend on, and are parts of, them, put themſelves in motion, and execute my orders with a rapidity, which almoſt prevents my deſires. The air from my lungs, varied and modified an infinity of ways, according to the diverſity of my ſentiments, iſſues forth to carry the ſound of them into the ears of my auditors, and to inform them of all that paſſes within me, and of all I deſire they ſhould know.

To inſtruct me in producing ſuch wonderful effects, have I had occaſion for tutors, leſſons, precepts? Nature, that is to ſay the divine providence, has made every thing within me and for me. It has formed in my body all the organs neceſſary for producing ſuch wonderful effects; and that with a delicacy the ſenſes can hardly trace, and with a variety, multiplicity, diſtinction, art and activity, which the naturaliſts

raliſts confeſs above all expreſſion and admiration. This is not all. It has imparted to us an abſolute authority over all theſe organs, in regard to which our mere will is an indiſpenſible command that they never diſobey, and that immediately puts them in motion. Why are we not equally docile and ſubmiſſive to the voice of the Creator?

The manner of forming the voice includes, as I have obſerved, innumerable wonders. I ſhall only repeat one circumſtance in this place, from which we may judge of the reſt. It is extracted from the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, *An.* 1700.

In our throat, at the top of the Trachean-artery, that is, the canal through which the air enters and is reſpired from the lungs, there is a ſmall oval cleft, capable of being more or leſs extended, called the *Glotta.* As the opening of this little mouth is very ſmall, in proportion to the largeneſs of the Trachea, the air cannot paſs through it from the Trachea, without extremely augmenting its velocity, and precipitating its courſe. Hence, in paſſing, it violently agitates the ſmall parts of the two lips of the Glotta, ſets them in motion, and cauſes them to make vibrations, which produce ſound. This ſound ſo formed, goes on to utter itſelf in the cavity of the mouth and noſtrils.

This mouth of the Trachea forms the different tones or notes, as well as ſounds; which it can only do by the different changes of its opening. It is oval, as I ſaid before, and capable of extending or cloſing itſelf in certain degrees; and thereby the fibres of the membranes,

of

of which it is compoſed, become longer in low, and ſhorter in high, tones.

We find by Mr. Dodart's exact calculation of the tones or notes, and half-notes of an ordinary voice, that for all the ſmall parts of tone, with which it can raiſe an octave without ſtraining itſelf, for the more or leſs force it can give ſound without changing the tone or note, we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the little diameter of the *glotta*, which is at moſt a line, or the twelfth of an inch, and which changes its length with all theſe changes, muſt be, and actually is, divided into 9632 parts; that even theſe parts are not all equal, and that conſequently ſome are much leſs than the $_{9}\frac{1}{6}{}_{3}{}_{2}$ part of a line. By what means could the art of man attain to ſo fine and exquiſite diviſions! And is it not amazing, that nature itſelf was capable of executing them? On the other ſide, it is no leſs ſurprizing that the ear, which has ſo juſt a ſenſe of tones, perceives, when the voice changes its note ever ſo little, a difference, of which the origin is no more than the $_{9}\frac{1}{6}{}_{3}{}_{2}$ part of leſs than a line, or twelfth of an inch.

The ear itſelf; can we ever be weary of conſidering its ſtructure, framed in an admirable manner to collect on all ſides, in its anfractuous cavities, the flying impreſſions and undulations of ſound, and to determine them afterwards by a pleaſing ſenſation to the internal organ of hearing? It is for the naturaliſts to explain theſe wonders: But it is ours to admire with gratitude their infinite advantages, which we almoſt every moment enjoy, without reflecting much upon them. What manner of people would a nation of mutes be, who ſhould inhabit the

ſame

ſame place, with no power to impart their thoughts to each other, but by ſigns and geſtures, nor to communicate their wants, their doubts, their difficulties, their joy, their ſorrow, in a word, all the ſentiments of their ſouls, in which the life of a rational creature properly conſiſts.

WRITING is another wonder, which comes very near that of *Speech*, and which adds a new value to it, from the extent it gives the uſe to be made of ſpeech, and the permanence or kind of perpetuity ſpeech derives from it. This invention is perfectly well deſcribed in the fine verſes of Lucan:

Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

If fame ſpeak true, and facts believ'd of old,
Phœnicia's ſons did firſt the art unfold
Diſcourſe in uncouth figures to confine,
And ſound and ſenſe to image and deſign.

It is ſtill better expreſſed in Brebeuf's tranſlation, which riſes conſiderably upon the original:

C'eſt de * lui que nous vient cet art ingenieux
De peindre la parole, & de parler aux yeux;
Et par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur & du corps aux penſees.

From him deſcended firſt the fine device
To paint the voice, and to diſcourſe the eyes;
In forms and colours ſenſe to cloath be taught,
And all the various features of a thought.

* *Cadmus the Phœnician.*

It

It is * this invention, which enables us to correſpond and diſcourſe with the abſent, and to transfer our thoughts and opinions to them, notwithſtanding the remoteſt diſtance of places. The tongue, which is the principal inſtrument and organ of ſpeech, has no ſhare in this equally uſeful and agreeable commerce. The hand, inſtructed by uſe to trace ſenſible characters upon paper, lends it its aid, makes itſelf its interpreter, mute as it is, and becomes in its place the vehicle of diſcourſe.

It is to the ſame invention, as Theodoretus further obſerves, whoſe words I have juſt before quoted, that we are indebted for the ineſtimable treaſure of the writings come down to us, and which has imparted to us the knowledge not only of the arts, ſciences, and all paſt facts; but, what is of infinitely greater value, of the truths and myſteries of religion.

Is it not eaſy to comprehend how men have been able to compoſe, out of twenty-five or thirty letters at moſt, that infinite variety of words, which having no reſemblance in themſelves to what paſſes in our minds, do however diſcloſe all the ſecrets of them to others, and

* Ejuſdem beneficio abſentibus converſamur; & qui multorum dierum itinere diſtamus, atque immenſis manſionum ſpatiis & intervallis ſejungimur, ingeniorum concepta, & animorum ſententias nobis invicem per manus tranſmittimus. Et lingua quidem, quæ primarium orationis organum eſt, otioſa ceſſat. Sermoni autem dextra ancillatur, quæ calamo arrepto, quod nobis cum amico tranſigendum erat negotium, papyro aut chartæ inſcribit; & ſermonis vehiculum eſt, non os, nec lingua, ſed manus, quæ longi temporis uſu artem edocuit, & alementorum compoſitionem ſeu ſtructuram probè edocta eſt. *Theod de Provid. orat.* 4.

make thoſe, who could not otherwiſe penetrate our ſenſe, underſtand all we conceive, and all the different affections of our ſouls? Let us imagine ourſelves in the countries, whither the invention of writing has not reached, or where it is not practiſed: What ignorance! what ſtupidity! what barbariſm do we not ſee! Can ſuch people be called men? The reader may conſult the learned diſſertation of Mr. Freret upon *the * principles of the art of writing*; which contains a great abundance of very curious knowledge.

Let us not bluſh to own it, and let us render due homage of gratitude to him, to whom alone we are indebted for the double advantage of ſpeech and writing. Only God could teach mankind to eſtabliſh certain figures to ſignify all ſounds or words.

And theſe are the firſt objects of grammar, which, as I have already ſaid, is the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly. It was infinitely more eſteemed and cultivated with much greater attention by the Greeks and Romans, than with us, amongſt whom it is fallen into great contempt, and almoſt generally neglected. This difference of ſentiments and conduct in this point, ariſes from thoſe two nations having beſtowed conſiderable time and particular application in the ſtudy of their own tongue; whereas we very ſeldom learn ours by rudiments, which is certainly a great defect in our uſual method of inſtructing youth.

* *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. VI.*

We

We are ſurprized to read in Quintilian an exalted paiſe of grammar, which he ſays * is neceſſary to youth, agreeable to age, a delightful employment in retirement, and of all ſtudies, that which is attended with more utility than it promiſes. This is not the idea we form of it. And indeed it was of far greater extent amongſt the antients than we give it. It did not confine itſelf to the laying down of rules for ſpeaking, reading, and writing correctly, which is certainly a very important part of it. The underſtanding and explication of the poets were one of its branches, and we are not ignorant how many things that ſtudy neceſſarily includes. It added another part, which ſuppoſes a great fund of erudition and knowledge: this was *Criticiſm*. I ſhall ſoon ſhew in what this conſiſted.

That kind of grammarians, called alſo *Philologers*, *Philologi*, were not confounded with the *Grammatiſts*, *Grammatiſtæ ſive literatores*, whoſe ſole employment was to teach children the firſt elements of the Greek or Latin tongues. For which reaſon the latter did not enjoy the immunities of other privileges granted by the emperors to the grammarians.

I ſhall relate here in a few words what hiſtory tells us concerning thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this way, either amongſt the Greeks or Romans. Mr. Capperonier, my brother as fellow of the royal college, who has perfectly ſtudied all that relates to grammar, has been ſo good to communicate ſome of his remarks upon that ſubject to me.

* Neceſſario pueris, jucunda ſenibus, dulcis ſecretorum comes, & quæ vel ſola omni ſtudiorum genere plus habet operis quam oſtentationis. *Quint.* l. 4. c. 4.

ARTICLE I.

GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

I Shall not enter into an examination of the origin of the Greek letters. Thoſe who deſire to be informed upon that head, may conVol. II. ſult the memoirs of the academy of inſcriptions, and Belles Lettres, in which it is treated with great erudition by the late Abbé Renaudot. I adhere to the common opinion of almoſt all the Greek and Latin authors, who agree, that Cadmus brought the firſt letters from Phœnicia, and communicated them to the Greeks, that were afterwards called Ionick, of which the origin is ſufficiently denoted by their reſemblance to the Hebrew and Phœnician alphabets. I ſhall confine my ſelf in this place to ſpeaking of thoſe, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt with regard to the Greek grammar.

PLATO is believed to be the firſt author in whom any footſteps of the art of grammar is to Pag. 18. be found. And accordingly in his *Philæbus* he ſhews the method of teaching the knowledge of the letters. In his *Cratylus*, he treats the antient and famous queſtion, whether the ſignification of words be natural to them, or arbitrary, and founded ſolely upon the will of mankind, who has thought fit to annex certain ideas to words? He divides words into two ſpecies: the primitive, which he aſcribes to God; and the derivative, which are of human invention. He inſinuates, that the Greek tongue is derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. In the ſame dialogue, he examines

examines the origin and etymology of ſeveral nouns; for which reaſon Phavorinus ſays, in Diogenes Laertius, that Plato was the firſt that obſerved the propriety and uſe of grammar.

It ſeems, however, that ARISTOTLE might be conſidered as the firſt author of this ſcience. He has diſtributed words into certain claſſes; of which he has examined the different kinds, and particular properties. The twentieth chapter of his poeticks begins with this enumeration. "The poetical ſtyle or elocution contains theſe "eight parts. The element, the ſyllable, the "conjunction, the noun, the verb, the article, "the caſe or inflexion, the propoſition or "phraſe."

Hermippus, cited by Diogenes Laertius, tells us, that EPICURUS taught grammar before reading the books of Democritus engaged him in the ſtudy of philoſophy. In vit. Epic.

Quintilian ſays, that the ſtoick philoſophers made a great many additions to what Ariſtotle and Theodectes had introduced concerning grammar. Amongſt thoſe additions he reckons the prepoſitions, the pronoun, the participle, the adverb, and the interjection. Lib. 6. c. 6.

The great etymologiſt Suidas, Heſychius, Stephanus, Byzantinus, Athenæus, Harpocration, and other *polygraphical Philologers*, mention ſeveral antient grammarians, of whom ſome lived after Ariſtotle, and Alexander the Great, and others in the Auguſtan age. We ſhall ſay ſomething of the moſt celebrated of them.

PHILETES, of the iſland of Cos, may be placed in the firſt claſs of theſe, whom Ptolomy, the firſt of that name, king of Egypt, made præceptor to his ſon Ptolomy Philadelphus.

HECATÆUS of Abdera, who compoſed a treatiſe upon the poems of Homer and Heſiod.

LYNCÆUS of Samos, the diſciple of Theophraſtus.

ZENODOTUS of Epheſus, who firſt corrected the faults which had crept into the works of Homer.

CALLIMACHUS, uncle on the mother's ſide to that Callimachus, ſome of whoſe poems are ſtill extant. The celebrated ERATOSTHENES, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak under the title of Philologer, was one of his diſciples.

ARISTOPHANES of Byzantium was the ſcholar of Eratoſthenes, and lived in the time of Ptolomy Philopator. He was in great eſtimation.

ARISTARCHUS, the diſciple of Ariſtophanes, obſcured by his reputation all the grammarians who preceded him, or lived in his own times. He was born in Samothracia, and had for his country by adoption the city of Alexandria. He was highly eſteemed by Ptolomy Philometor, who confided the education of his ſon to his care. He applied himſelf extremely to criticiſm, and reviſed Homer's poems with incredible, but perhaps too magiſterial, an exactneſs. For when a verſe did not pleaſe him, he treated it as ſuppoſitious and interpolated: *Homeri verſum negat, quem non probat.* It is ſaid he marked the verſes he condemned as ſuppoſitious, with the figure of a ſpit on the ſide of them; from whence came the word ὀβελίζειν.

Cic Epiſt. ad Famil. l. 3.

How great ſoever the reputation and authority of Ariſtarchus were, appeals were often made from his decrees, and liberty taken to condemn

demn this great critick's taſte, who upon ſome occaſions determined, that ſuch and ſuch verſes ſhould be tranſpoſed from the Iliad to the Odyſſey. Tranſpoſitions of this kind are ſeldom very happy, and generally argue more preſumption than judgment. Zenodotus was appointed to reviſe and examine the criticiſms of Ariſtarchus. Suid.

In the opinion of ſome authors, it was this Ariſtarchus, that divided the two great poems of Homer each into as many books as there are letters in the alphabet, and gave each book the name of a letter.

He worked alſo upon Pindar, Aratus, and other poets.

He had abundance of diſputations in Pergamus with Crates the grammarian, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak.

Cicero calls Atticus his Ariſtarchus, becauſe, as a good friend and excellent critick, he uſed to reviſe and correct his harangues. Horace alſo makes uſe of the ſame name, to ſignify an exact and judicious critick. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 10. ad Attic. In Art Poet.

Vir bonus & prudens verſus reprehendet inertes, &c.

Fiet Ariſtarchus, nec dicet: Cur ego amicum Offendam in nugis?

Quintilian * informs us, that theſe grammarian criticks, not only took upon them to note, with a kind of cenſorial authority, the verſes they did not approve, and to ſtrike out whole

* Miſtum his omnibus judicium eſt. Quo quidem ita ſeverè ſunt uſi veteres Grammatici, ut non verſus modò cenſoria quadam virgula notare, & libros, qui falsò viderentur inſcripti, tanquam ſubditicios ſummovere familia permiſerint ſibi: ſed auctores alios in ordinem redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 4.

books from an author's works, as offspring unjuſtly aſcribed to him, but carried their power ſo far, as to aſſign authors their ranks, diſtinguiſhing ſome with peculiar honours, leaving many in the common herd, and entirely degrading others.

What I have ſaid of Ariſtarchus ſhews that criticiſm, in which the principal merit of the antient grammarians conſiſted, was principally intent in diſcovering the true author of a work, or diſtinguiſhing the writings falſely aſcribed to him, from ſuch as were really his; and even in thoſe, which were admitted to be genuine, on rejecting the paſſages, which a different hand had deſignedly inſerted; in fine, to explain what was moſt beautiful, moſt ſolid, and moſt remarkable in works of wit, and to aſſign the reaſons for their judgment. Now all this required abundance of reading, erudition, taſte, and, above all, a juſt and refined diſcernment. To know the uſefulneſs of this art, and have a right ſenſe of its value, we need only call to mind certain nations and ages, in which a profound ignorance reigned univerſally, and for want of critical knowledge, the groſſeſt abſurdities, and the moſt palpable falſifications of all kinds, paſſed for inconteſtable truths. It is the glory of our age, and the effect of the beſt ſtudies, to have entirely diſpelled all thoſe clouds and darkneſs, by the lights of ſolid and judicious criticiſm.

Sueton. de Illuſt. Gram.

CRATES of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, was Ariſtarchus's cotemporary. He was ſent to Rome in quality of ambaſſador, by Attalus II. king of Pergamus. He introduced in that great city the ſtudy of grammar, which he had always

ways made his principal occupation. He left nine books of corrections upon Homer's poems.

After his death there were ſeveral other Greek criticks at Rome; amongſt the reſt the two Tyrannions.

TYRANNION, a famous grammarian in Pompey's time, was of Amiſus in the kingdom of Pontus. He called himſelf at firſt Theophraſtus: but from his violent behaviour in reſpect to his companions in ſtudy, and perhaps his diſciples, he was ſirnamed Tyrannion. Suidas.

He was the diſciple of Dionyſius of Thrace, at Rhodes, and fell into the hands of Lucullus, when that general of the Romans had put Mithridates to flight, and poſſeſſed himſelf of part of his dominions. This captivity was no diſadvantage to Tyrannion, as it gave him the opportunity of rendering himſelf illuſtrious at Rome, and of acquiring conſiderable riches. He employed them, amongſt other uſes, in collecting a library, according to Suidas, of more than thirty thouſand volumes. Charles Stephens, and other authors, ſay only three thouſand; which is moſt probable.

Tyrannion's care in collecting books contributed very uſefully to preſerving the works of Ariſtotle. The fate of thoſe works was ſomething ſingular; as I have related elſewhere. Vol. X.

His underſtanding, and particular induſtry in this reſpect, enabled him to do Cicero a very agreeable ſervice, of which he was highly ſenſible. Every body knows the fondneſs which perſons of ſtudy and ſcience have for their books. They are, in a manner, their friends of all hours, their faithful companions; that entertain them agreeably at all times; that ſometimes

ſupply

ſupply them with ſerious employment, and ſometimes with neceſſary recreation; that go with them into the country, and when they travel; and in times of adverſity are almoſt their ſole conſolation. Cicero's baniſhment had torn him from his dear library. It ſeemed to have been ſenſible of its maſter's diſgrace; and during his abſence, many of his books had been diſperſed. One of his firſt cares, after his return, was to retrieve what remained of them, which he found more abundant than he expected. He commiſſioned Tyrannion to put them in order, and to diſpoſe them into their ſeveral claſſes, in which he ſucceeded perfectly well. Cicero, in a letter, wherein he invites his friend Atticus to his houſe, aſſures him, that he will be charmed with the fine manner in which Tyrannion had diſpoſed his library. *Perbelle feceris, ſi ad nos veneris. Offendes deſignationem mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum reliquiæ multò meliores ſunt quam putaram.* That dear friend, at his requeſt, had ſent him two of his ſlaves, very expert in what related to books, and in paſting them, called for that reaſon *glutinatores*. The books of the antients, as every body knows, were not bound like ours, but were long rolls, conſiſting of many leaves of parchment or vellum, either tied or paſted together. Tyrannion had ſet theſe two ſlaves to work, who had done wonders: and my library diſpoſed in ſo fine an order, ſays Cicero, ſeems to have given a new ſoul to my houſe. *Poſtea quam Tyrannio mihi libros diſpoſuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionyſii & Menophili lui fuit.*

Epiſt. 4. Libri 4 ad Attic.

Ibid.

Epiſt. 8.

The

The merit of Tyrannion was not confined to diſpoſing books; he knew how to uſe them. When Cæſar was in Africa, making war againſt Juba, Cicero and Atticus had promiſed to fix a day for hearing Tyrannion read a book of his compoſing. Atticus having heard it read without his friend, was reproached by him for it: "What, ſays Cicero to him, did I ſeveral "times refuſe to hear that book read, becauſe "you were abſent, and would not you ſtay "to ſhare that pleaſure with me? But I for-"give you for the admiration you expreſs of "it". What then muſt a book ſo agreeable, and at the ſame time ſo worthy of being praiſed, and even admired by ſuch a man as Atticus, have been? It was only remarks upon grammar, upon the different accents, the quantity of ſyllables, and what is called proſody. Would one believe, that perſons of ſuch extraordinary merit could find any pleaſure in works of ſuch a kind? They went much farther, and compoſed tracts of the ſame nature themſelves, as Quintilian relates of Cæſar and Meſſala, the firſt of whom wrote a treatiſe upon analogy, and the other upon words and letters.

Epiſt. 2. l. 12. ad Attic. A. M. 3958.

Ibid. Ep. 6.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

Cicero muſt have had an high value for Tyrannion, as he permitted him * to open a grammar-ſchool in his houſe, where he taught this art to ſome young Romans, and amongſt others, to his brother Quintus's, and no doubt to Cicero's own, ſon.

* Quinctus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregiè. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. *Epiſt.* 4. l. 2. *ad Quinct. frat.*

TYRANNION,

TYRANNION, ſo named from his having been the former's diſciple, was otherwiſe called Diocles. He was a native of Phœnicia, and was taken priſoner in the war between Anthony and Auguſtus, and bought by Dymas, one of the emperor's freedmen. He was afterwards given to Terentia, who made him free: ſhe had been Cicero's wife, who repudiated her. Tyrannion opened a ſchool in Rome, and compoſed ſixty-eight books. He wrote one to prove, that the Latin was derived from the Greek tongue; and another, which contained a correction of Homer's poems.

DIONYSIUS THE THRACIAN was the diſciple of Ariſtarchus. He taught grammar at Rome in Pompey's time, and compoſed ſeveral books upon that ſubject, many treatiſes upon others, and a great number of commentaries upon various authors. Mr. Fabricius has cauſed one of his grammars to be printed, in the ſeventh volume of his Bibliotheca Græca.

This piece may give us ſome idea of the method of the antient Greek grammarians. The author divides his work into ſix parts. 1. Reading according to the accents. 2. The explanation of the tropes and figures in poetry. 3. The interpretation of the dialects, extraordinary words, and certain hiſtorical paſſages. 4. The etymology of words. 5. The exact knowledge of * analogy. 6. The manner of judging poems, which Dionyſius conſiders as the moſt re-

* Analogy, *according to Vaugelas, is a conformity to things already eſtabliſhed, which we propoſe as our model, in making words or phraſes like words or phraſes already eſtabliſhed.*

fined

fined and moſt important part of his art. After having explained the three accents, the acute, the grave, and the circumflex; he goes on to treat the different method of pointing. He even gives, in the courſe of his work, the definition of the term *Rhapſody*, in the ſenſe of the antient Homeriſts, who holding a ſmall ſtick of lawrel-wood in their hand, ſung detached pieces of Homer's poems. From thence he proceeds to the explanation of the letters, which he divides into vowels and conſonants, into *Hemiphonæ* or half-vowels, *aphonæ* or *cacophonæ*; that is to ſay, bad ſounding, becauſe he ſuppoſes that they have leſs ſound than the others. And laſtly, he ſubdivides the *aphonæ* into *tenues*, *mediæ*, and *aſpiratæ*, without forgetting the *double* conſonants, and the *liquids* or immutables. After which he treats the long, ſhort, and common ſyllables. He next explains the *parts of ſpeech*, which he reduces to eight, the noun, the verb, the participle, the article, the pronoun, the prepoſition, the adverb, and the conjunction. This author conſiders the interjection as a kind of adverb. Having explained the ſix common conjugations called *Barytoni*, he obſerved, that ſome grammarians add a ſeventh, of which the terminations were in ξω and ψω, as ἀλέξω and ἔψω. The circumflex verbs in έω, άω, όω; and the four verbs in μι are not forgot.

This detail of grammar appears tedious and uſeleſs to us; but the antients had a different opinion of it. There was no part of it, even to the pointing and accents, of which they did not make very great uſe.

They

They knew that ſtopping or pointing well gives perſpicuity, grace, and harmony to diſcourſe; and that it aſſiſts the eyes and minds of readers and hearers, by making the order, ſeries, connection and diſtinction of parts more evident; in rendering the pronunciation natural, and in preſcribing it juſt bounds and pauſes of different kinds, as the ſenſe requires. It is to the grammarians we have this obligation. The learned, who conſult the antient manuſcripts, in which there are neither commas, points, *a linea*, nor any other diſtinction, experience the confuſion and difficulty, that ariſe from ſo vicious a manner of writing. This part of grammar is almoſt generally neglected amongſt us, and often even amongſt the learned: which however is a ſtudy of no more than half an hour or an hour at the utmoſt.

I ſay as much of the accents. The accent is an elevation of the voice upon one of the ſyllables of a word, after which the voice neceſſarily falls. This elevation of the voice is called the *acute* accent, marked thus (ʹ), and the grave accent, or lowering of the voice, thus(ˋ). But becauſe in the Greek and Latin tongues there were certain long ſyllables, upon which the voice was both raiſed and depreſſed, they invented a third accent, which they called the *circumflex*, at firſt marked thus (ˆ), and afterwardsthus (˜), which comprehended both tones.

The grammarians introduced accents in writing, (for they are not of the earlieſt antiquity) to diſtinguiſh the ſignification of ſome words otherwiſe equivocal, to make the cadences more harmonious, to vary the tones, and to direct when to raiſe or depreſs the voice.

We

We uſe them alſo in the French language, but in a different manner. The *acute* accent is always put over the é ſhut, as temerité, &c; the *grave* accent is over the è open, followed with the letter s at the end of words; procès, &c. The *circumflex* accent is put over certain long (*) vowels; *depôt*, *enfant mâle*, &c.

There are a thouſand obſervations of a like nature, to which we lend little or no attention. Amongſt the Greeks and Romans, all children, from their earlieſt years, learnt the rules of grammar exactly, which became natural to them by long uſe. From whence the meaneſt of the people at Athens and Rome, knew, to a tittle, the leaſt defect of the orators or actors, in regard to accent or quantity, and were ſenſibly diſguſted at it.

I omit a great number of celebrated grammarians, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their great learning.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratia, a city of Egypt, has left us his *Onomaſticon*, a work highly eſteemed by many of the learned. He lived in the ſecond century, in the reign of the Emperor Commodus.

In the interval of time, between the ſeventh century and the taking of Conſtantinople by Mahomet the ſecond, in 1453, we find ſeveral learned grammarians, who took abundance of pains to explain the Greek authors, and render them intelligible. Such are amongſt others HESYCHIUS, the author of an excellent dic-

* *Or from being uſed at firſt to denote the eliſion of the letter s, when wrote as pronounced: All the old French books have* depoſt, maſle.

tionary,

tionary, of great uſe for underſtanding the poets: THE GREAT ETYMOLOGIST, SUIDAS, who compoſed a great hiſtorical and grammatical dictionary, in which there is abundance of erudition: JOHN TZETZES, author of an hiſtory in thirteen books, under the name of *Chiliades*; and his brother ISAAC, commentator upon Lycophron: EUSTATHIUS, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, author of a large comment upon Homer; and many others.

ARTICLE II.

LATIN GRAMMARIANS.

SUETONIUS, in his book *Of Illuſtrious Grammarians*, tells us, that grammar of old was ſo far from being in honour, that it was not ſo much as in uſe at Rome, becauſe the antient Romans valued themſelves much more upon being warlike than learned; and that Crates of Mallos, of whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt that introduced the ſtudy of grammar at Rome. Thoſe antient grammarians, at the ſame time, taught rhetorick, or at leaſt prepared their ſcholars for that ſtudy, by preliminary exerciſes.

Amongſt the twenty illuſtrious grammarians mentioned by Suetonius, we find:

AURELIUS OPILIUS, who at firſt taught philoſophy, afterwards rhetorick, and at laſt grammar. I have already obſerved, that this art was of much greater extent than with us.

MARCUS

MARCUS ANTONIUS GNIPHON, who alſo taught rhetorick in the houſe of Julius Cæſar, when a child. Cicero, during his prætorſhip, heard his lectures.

ATTEJUS, ſirnamed the Philologer. Salluſt and Aſinius Pollio were his diſciples.

VERRIUS FLACCUS, who compoſed a collection of words of difficult conſtruction, abridged afterwards by Feſtus Pompejus. He was præceptor to Auguſtus's grandſons.

CAJUS JULIUS HYGINIUS, Auguſtus's freedman and library-keeper; to whom a treatiſe upon mythology, and another upon poetical aſtronomy, are aſcribed.

MARCUS POMPONIUS MARCELLUS, who preſumed to criticiſe upon a ſpeech of Tiberius. And when Attejus Capito endeavoured to juſtify it, by maintaining, that the word criticiſed by this grammarian was Latin, or if it was not, yet being adopted, it would be ſo; Pomponius made that memorable anſwer, *You can make men free of the city, Cæſar, but not words.*

REMMIUS PALÆMON of Vicentia, who, in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, having rendered himſelf famous by his great erudition, and facility in ſpeaking and making verſes extemporaneouſly, diſgraced himſelf as much by his bad morals and arrogance.

Beſides the antient grammarians, whoſe lives Suetonius has abridged, there were others, whoſe names do honour to this art, though they did not teach it in any other manner than by their writings; as Varro, Cicero, Meſſala, and Julius Cæſar: for thoſe great perſonages thought

it no diſhonour to themſelves to treat ſuch ſubjects.

To avoid prolixity, I omit many learned grammarians, of whom ſeveral will recur in the enſuing chapter, where I ſhall treat of Philologers. Thoſe who may be curious to collect all the Latin authors upon this ſubject, will find them in the collection of the antient grammarians, publiſhed by Elias Putſchius in 1605. two volumes *in quarto*. An excellent book, and very neceſſary to all thoſe who teach the Latin tongue, is *the Minerva* of Sanctius, with the notes of Scioppius and Perizonius.

SHORT REFLECTIONS

Upon the progreſs and alteration of languages.

IT is ſurprizing to conſider the manner in which languages are formed, augmented, and attain their perfection; and how, after a certain courſe of years, they degenerate and corrupt.

God, the ſole author of the primitive tongues, (and how could man have invented them?) introduced the uſe of them to puniſh and fruſtrate the fooliſh undertaking of men, who, before they diſperſed themſelves into different regions, were for rendering themſelves immortal by erecting the moſt ſuperb ſtructure, that had ever appeared upon the face of the earth. Till then mankind, who in a manner formed but one family, ſpoke alſo but one language. On a ſudden, by the moſt ſurprizing of prodigies, God obliterated from the human mind the antient traces

and

and remembrances of all the words it knew, and ſubſtituted new ones in their ſtead, which in an inſtant formed new languages. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in diſperſing themſelves into different countries, each joined himſelf with thoſe whoſe language he underſtood, as they did his.

I ſhall confine my ſelf to the ſons of Javan, (in the Hebrew *Javan* is the ſame as *Ion*) from whom deſcended the Ionians, that is to ſay, the Greeks. Behold then the Greek language eſtabliſhed amongſt them, entirely different from the Hebrew, (I ſay this in the ſuppoſition, that the Hebrew was the language of the firſt man,) different, not only in reſpect of words, but the manner of declining nouns and conjugating verbs, inflexions, turns, phraſes, number, and ſound or cadence. For it is remarkable that God has given each language a peculiar genius and character, which diſtinguiſhes it from all others, and of which the effect is ſenſible, tho' the reaſon of it be almoſt infinite and inexhauſtible. To the multitude of Greek words, with which their memory was furniſhed in theſe firſt times, uſe, neceſſity, invention, the exerciſe of arts, and perhaps even convenience and embelliſhment, occaſioned the addition of new ones. The Greek *radices* (*roots or radical words*) are computed to be two thouſand one hundred and fifty ſix. The derivative or compound words very much augment that number, and are multiplied to infinity: no language is near ſo copious and abundant as the Greek. *Raa. Græc. ac Port Royal.*

Hitherto we have in a manner only ſeen the matter of the Greek language, that is to ſay, the words of which it is compoſed, that were

almoſt ſolely the gift of the Creator and neceſſity. The uſe, connection, and diſpoſition of theſe words, had occaſion for the aids of art. It is obſerved, that amongſt thoſe who uſed this language, ſome ſpoke better than others, and expreſſed their thoughts in a clearer, more compact, emphatical and agreeable manner. Theſe were taken for models, were ſtudied with care, and had obſervations made upon their diſcourſes, whether in writing, or only by word of mouth. And this gave birth to what we call grammar, which is no more than a collection of obſervations upon language: a very important, or rather abſolutely neceſſary, work, for fixing the rules of a tongue, reducing them to a method that facilitates the ſtudy of them, clearing up their doubts and difficulties, explaining and removing bad uſes and modes of ſpeech, and conducting by ſenſible and judicious reflections, to all the beauty of which it is ſuſceptible.

We know nothing of the beginnings nor progreſs of the Greek tongue. The poems of Homer are the moſt antient work we have in that language; and the elocution of them is ſo perfect, that no future age has been capable of adding any thing to it. This perfection of language ſubſiſted and preſerved itſelf longer amongſt the Greeks than any other nation of the world. Theocritus lived above ſix hundred years after Homer. All the poets who flouriſhed during that long interval, except a very ſmall number, are eſteemed excellent with regard to language, in their ſeveral ways. The ſame may be almoſt ſaid of the orators, hiſtorians, and philoſophers. The univerſal and prevailing taſte of the Greeks for arts, the eſteem

eſteem they always had for eloquence, their care in cultivating their language, which was the only one they learnt, diſdaining generally the Roman, though ſpoke by their maſters; all this conſpired to ſupport the Greek tongue in its purity during many ages, till the tranſlation of the empire to Conſtantinople. The mixture of Latin, and the decline of the empire, which induced the decay of the arts, ſoon after occaſioned a ſenſible alteration in the Greek language.

The Romans, ſolely intent upon eſtabliſhing and ſecuring their conqueſts by the method of arms, had little regard at firſt to the embelliſhment and improvement of their tongue. The ſmall remains, which we have of the annals of the pontiffs, the laws of the twelve tables, and ſome other monuments, few in number, ſhew how groſs and imperfect it was in thoſe early times. It afterwards, by little and little, grew more copious, and enlarged itſelf inſenſibly. It borrowed a great number of words from the Greek, which it dreſſed after its own mode, and in a manner naturalized; an advantage the Greeks had not. We may perceive at this day the taſte of the Greek language in the old Latin poets, ſuch as Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, eſpecially in the compound words with which they abound. What we have of the diſcourſes of Cato, the Gracchi, and the other orators of their times, ſhews a language already of great copiouſneſs and energy, and that wanted nothing but beauty, diſpoſition and harmony.

The more frequent communication Rome had with Greece, after having conquered it, introduced an entire change in it with reſpect to

language, as well as taſte for eloquence and poetry, two things which ſeem inſeparable. To compare Plautus with Terence, and Lucretius with Virgil, one would be apt to believe them many ages remote from each other; and however they were divided only by ſome few years. The epocha of reviving, or rather eſtabliſhing pure Latinity at Rome, may be fixed at Terence, and continued to the death of Auguſtus; ſomething more than an hundred and fifty years. This was the happy age of Rome with regard to polite learning and arts, or as it is called the golden [*and Auguſtan*] age, in which a crowd of authors of the higheſt merit carried the purity and elegance of diction to their utmoſt height, by writings entirely different as to ſtyle and matter, but all equally diſtinguiſhed by pure Latinity and elevation of taſte.

This rapid progreſs of the Latin tongue will be leſs ſurprizing, if we remember that ſuch perſons as Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, on the one ſide, and Cicero and Cæſar on the other, did not diſdain, in the midſt of their important occupations, the former to lend their hands and pens to a comick poet, and the latter to compoſe treatiſes themſelves upon grammar.

This purity of language continually declined from the death of Auguſtus, as well as the taſte for ſound eloquence; for their fate is almoſt always the ſame. There needs no great diſcernment to perceive a ſenſible difference between the authors of the Auguſtan age, and thoſe who ſucceeded it. But two hundred years after the difference is exceſſive, as we may eaſily obſerve in reading the authors, who have wrote the hiſtory

hiſtory of Auguſtus. The purity of language was preſerved almoſt ſolely (and that too not without ſome alteration) amongſt the civilians Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, &c.

I don't know whether it were juſt to ſay, the fate of language and that of taſte were always the ſame. We have old French authors, as Marot, Amiot, Montagne, and others, the reading of whom ſtill pleaſes infinitely, and, no doubt, will for ever pleaſe. What is it we love and eſteem in theſe authors? Not their language, becauſe in theſe days we could not ſuffer any thing like it. It is ſomething more eaſily conceived than expreſſed: a ſimple and genuine air, a fine tour of imagination, natural manners, a nobleneſs and majeſty of ſtile without affectation or bombaſt, and eſpecially the ſentiments of nature, which flow from, and reach, the heart: in a word, it is that taſte of antient Greece and Rome, which is of all ages and nations, and diffuſes thro' writings a certain ſalt, the ſpirit and delicacy of which every reader of genius perceives, whilſt it adds a new value to the force and ſolidity of the matter with which it is united.

But why does not this old language pleaſe ſtill? I ſpeak only in regard to words. We want abundance in our language, and theſe old authors have excellent ones; ſome clear, ſimple and natural; and others full of force and energy. I always wiſhed, that ſome able hand would make a ſmall collection of both kinds, that is to ſay, of ſuch as we want, and might regain, to ſhew us our error in neglecting the progreſs and improvement of our language as we do, and to rebuke our ſtupid indolence in this point. For if the French tongue, otherwiſe rich and

opulent, experiences on certain occaſions a kind of barrenneſs and poverty, it is to our own falſe delicacy we ſhould impute them. Why ſhould we not enrich it with new and excellent terms, which our own antient authors, or even the neighbouring nations might ſupply, as we ſee the Engliſh actually do the ſame with great ſucceſs? I am ſenſible, that we ſhould be very diſcreet and reſerved in this point: but we ought not to carry our diſcretion to a narrow puſillanimity.

We have reaſon to believe, that our language has attained the higheſt perfection of which it is capable; and of this, the honour of its being adopted into almoſt all the courts of Europe ſeems a glorious proof. If it be defective in any thing, it is, in my opinion, only with regard to a richer abundance; notwithſtanding good ſpeakers ſcarce perceive, that it wants any words for the expreſſion of thoughts; but it would admit a greater number. France had in the laſt age, and ſtill has, writers of diſtinguiſhed merit, highly capable of acquiring her this new advantage. But they reſpect and fear the publick. They make it, with reaſon, a duty to conform to, and not to claſh with, its taſte. Hence, to avoid incurring its diſpleaſure, they hardly dare venture any new expreſſion, and leave the language in this point where they found it. It would therefore be incumbent on the publick, for the honour of the language and nation, to be leſs delicate and ſevere; and alſo on authors, to become a little leſs timorous; but, I repeat it, great diſcretion and reſerve are always neceſſary in uſing this liberty.

But

But I don't perceive, that whilſt I venture my reflections upon our language in this manner, my ſelf perhaps may ſeem wanting in reſpect for the publick; which would be very contrary to my intention. I conclude this article with taking the liberty to acquaint the reader again, that this ſtudy is of great importance, and ſhould by no means be neglected. It is with joy I ſee the French grammar regularly taught in ſeveral claſſes of the univerſity.

That of Mr. Reſtaut.

CHAPTER II.

OF PHILOLOGERS.

THOSE who have applied their ſtudies in examining, correcting, explaining, and publiſhing the antient authors, are called *Philologers*: they profeſs univerſal learning, including all ſciences and authors, in which antiently the principal and moſt noble part of the grammarian's art conſiſted. By philology therefore is underſtood a ſpecies of ſcience containing grammar, rhetorick, poetry, antiquities, hiſtory, philoſophy, and ſometimes even mathematicks, phyſick, and civil law; without treating any of theſe ſubjects either in whole or in part, but occaſionally uſing all or any of them. I do not know for what reaſon this philology, which has done ſo much honour to the Scaligers, Salmaſius's, Caſaubons, Voſſius's, Sirmondius's, Gronovius's, &c. and which is ſtill ſo much cultivated in England, Germany, and Italy,

Italy, is almoſt deſpiſed in France, where we ſet no value upon any thing beſides exact and perfect ſciences, ſuch as phyſicks, geometry, &c. Our academy of Belles Lettres, which, under that name, includes all the ſpecies of erudition antient and modern, and publiſhes every year in its memoirs, treatiſes upon all manner of ſubjects, may contribute very much to revive and augment this taſte for philology and erudition amongſt us. I ſhall here give a brief account of ſome of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in this kind of literature, mingling Greeks and Romans together.

ERATOSTHENES.

De Illuſtr. Grammat. c. 10. Olymp. 146. Ant. J. C. 200.

Suidas.

Suetonius ſays, that Eratoſthenes was the firſt who was called *Philologer*. He was a native of Cyrene, and became library-keeper of Alexandria. He lived in the time of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, and had applied himſelf to all kinds of ſcience, without thoroughly cultivating any one, as thoſe do, who make one their ſole ſtudy in order to excel in it. This occaſioned his being nicknamed * *Beta*, becauſe, though not capable of aſpiring to the firſt rank in any particular ſcience, he had at leaſt attained the ſecond in all in general. He lived fourſcore years, and ſtarved himſelf to death, not being able to ſurvive the loſs of ſight with which he was afflicted. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again elſewhere. Ariſtophanes of Byzantium, maſter of the famous critick Ariſtarchus, was his diſciple.

* *The ſecond letter of the Greek alphabet.*

VARRO

VARRO.

Varro (*Marc. Terentius*) was eſteemed the moſt learned of all the Romans. He was born in the 636th year of Rome, and died in the 726th, at the age of ninety. He aſſures us himſelf, that he had compoſed almoſt five hundred volumes upon different ſubjects, of which he dedicated that upon the Latin tongue to Cicero. He wrote a treatiſe upon rural life, *De re ruſtica*, which is very much eſteemed. Both theſe pieces are come down to us. A. M. 3619. Apud. Aul. Gell. l. 3. c. 10. A. M. 3709.

St. Auſtin admires and extols in many places the vaſt erudition of this learned Roman. He has preſerved the plan of Varro's great work upon the Roman antiquities, conſiſting of forty one books. It is of this work Cicero ſpeaks, addreſſing himſelf to Varro: "We * were "before, ſays he, in a manner ſtrangers, that "did not know our way in our own city. "Your books have as it were ſet us right, "and informed us who, and where, we are". After the enumeration Cicero makes of them, St. Auguſtine cries out with admiration: "Var-"ro † read ſo great a number of books, "that it is wonderful he could find time to "compoſe any himſelf, and however com-

* Nos, inquit, in noſtra urbe peregrinantes errantesque, tanquam hoſpites, tui libri quaſi domum reduxerunt, ut poſſemus aliquando qui & ubi eſſemus cognoſcere. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 9.

† Varro tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei ſcribere vacaſſe miremur; tam multa vix quemquam legere potuiſſe credamus. *De Civit Dei*, l. 6. c. 2.

"poſed

" poſed ſo many, that one can hardly conceive " how one man could read them all."

It was difficult to write ſo many works in an elegant and polite ſtile. And the ſame St. Auſtin obſerves, * that Cicero praiſes Varro as a man of penetrating wit and profound learning, not as one of great eloquence and refinement of diction.

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS.

Aſconius Pedianus, cited by Pliny the naturaliſt, and by Quintilian, lived in the reigns of Nero and Veſpaſian. We have a fragment of his notes or comments upon ſeveral of Cicero's orations. He may be ſaid to have been the model of moſt of the Latin criticks and ſcholiaſts who ſucceeded him, and of ſuch as applied themſelves after him in explaining authors.

PLINY THE ELDER.

Pliny (*C. Plinius ſecundus*) called the elder, might be ranked amongſt the hiſtorians, or rather amongſt the philoſophers, who have treated phyſicks. But the multiplicity of the ſubjects he ſpeaks of in his books of natural hiſtory, made me conceive I might rank him amongſt the philologers.

* Cum Marco Varrone, homine, inquit, omnium facilè acutiſſimo, & ſcire ullâ dubitatione doctiſſimo. Non ait, eloquentiſſimo vel facundiſſimo; quoniam re vera in hac facultate multum impar eſt. *S. Auguſt.* ibid.

Pliny

Pliny was born at Verona, and lived in the firſt century, under Veſpaſian and Titus, who honoured him with their eſteem, and employed him in different affairs. He ſerved in the armies with diſtinction, was admitted into the college of augurs, was ſent governor into Spain; and notwithſtanding the time ſpent in his employments, he found enough for application to a great number of works, which unfortunately are loſt, except his *natural hiſtory* in thirty-ſeven books: * A work, ſays Pliny the younger, of infinite extent and erudition, and almoſt as various as nature itſelf: Stars, planets; hail, winds, rain; trees, plants, flowers; metal, minerals; animals of every kind, terreſtrial, aquatick, volatile; geographical deſcriptions of countries and cities, he takes in all, and leaves nothing in nature or art without an induſtrious examination. To compoſe this work, he peruſed almoſt two thouſand volumes.

He takes † care to inform the reader, that he took the time for this work, not out of that, which the publick affairs he was charged with required, but his hours of reſt, and ſuch only as would otherwiſe have been loſt. Pliny the younger, his nephew, tells us, that he led a ſimple and frugal life, ſlept little, and made the moſt of his time, at his meals, making ſomebody read to him; and in travelling, having always his book, tablets, and copiſt by his ſide: for he read nothing without making extracts from it. He conceived, that managing Ep. 5. l. 3.

* Opus diffuſum, eruditum, nec minus varium quàm ipſa natura. *Plin. Epiſt.* 5. l. 3.

† Succiſivis temporibus iſta curamus, id eſt nocturnis. *Præf.*

his

his time in this manner, was adding to the length of his life, the duration of which is much abridged by ſleep. *Pluribus horis vivimus : profecto enim vita vigilia eſt.* *In Præfat.*

Pliny was far from having the low vanity of ſome authors, who are not aſhamed to copy others without quoting them. " Probity * and " honour, in my opinion, ſays he, require, that " we ſhould pay a kind of homage to thoſe, " whoſe learning and knowledge are uſeful to " us, by a ſincere and ingenuous confeſſion of " it". He compares an author, who makes his advantage of another's labours without owning it, to a perſon who borrows money and pays uſury for it : with this difference, however, that the debtor, by the intereſt he pays, does not diſcharge the principal ſum lent him ; whereas an author, by the frank confeſſion of what he borrows, gains it in ſome meaſure, and makes it his own. From whence he concludes, that it is meanneſs of ſpirit and baſeneſs, to be better pleaſed with being ſhamefully detected in theft, than ingenuouſly to confeſs a debt. I have made my ſelf very rich in the latter way, and at no great expence.

He perfectly underſtood all the difficulty and inconveniences of an undertaking like his, in which the ſubject he treats is of its own nature ungrateful, barren and tedious, without leaving any room for a writer to diſplay his genius.

* In his voluminibus auctorum nomina prætexui. Eſt enim benignum, ut arbitror, & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris.— Obnoxii profectò animi, & infelicis ingenii eſt, deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere, cum præſertim ſors fiat ex uſura. *In Præfat.*

But

But * he was convinced, that the publick are not a little obliged to authors, who prefer being uſeful to pleaſing it; and who, from that view, have the courage to ſurmount and undergo all the pains of a tedious and diſagreeable labour.

He flatters himſelf, that he ſhall be pardoned for all the faults he may commit; which are indeed very numerous, as they were inevitable in a work of ſo vaſt an extent, and ſo prodigious a variety.

Pliny dedicated his work to Titus, at that time almoſt aſſociated in the empire by Veſpaſian his father, and who afterwards became the delight of mankind. He gives him a ſhort, but very exalted praiſe, in telling him: "Your "exaltation has made no other change in you, "but that of enabling you to do all the good "you deſire, by making your power equal "to the benevolence of your heart": *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortunæ amplitudo, niſi ut prodeſſe tantumdem poſſes & velles.* Epiſt. 16. l. 6.

Pliny the younger tells us, in a letter, which he addreſſes to Tacitus the hiſtorian, the ſad accident that occaſioned his uncle's death. He was at Miſenum, where he commanded the fleet. Being informed that a cloud appeared of extraordinary magnitude and form, he put to ſea, and ſoon diſcovered that it came from mount Veſuvius. He made all the haſte he could to get to a place from whence every body elſe fled, and to that part of it where the danger ſeemed

* Equidem ita ſentio, peculiarem in ſtudiis cauſam eorum eſſe, qui difficultatibus victis, utilitatem juvandi prætulerunt gratiæ placendi. *Ibid.*

greateſt,

greateſt, but with ſuch a freedom of ſpirit and unconcern, that he made and dictated obſervations upon every extraordinary appearance that aroſe. His ſhips were already covered with aſhes, which fell the thicker and hotter, the nearer they approached the mountain. Already calcined ſtones and flints all black, burnt and pulverized by the violence of the fire poured down around them. Pliny deliberated ſome time whether he ſhould return back: but having re-aſſured himſelf, he went forwards, landed at Stabiæ, and went to the houſe of his friend Pomponianus, whom he found in the greateſt terror, and endeavoured to encourage. After ſupper he went to bed, and ſlept ſoundly, till the approach of danger obliged them to wake him. The houſes were ſhaken in ſuch a manner by repeated earthquakes, that one would have thought they had been torn from their foundations. The family went into the fields. I omit abundance of circumſtances. The dark and frightful night, that hung over all, had no other light than what it received from the fire of the mountain. Flames that appeared of an unuſual vaſtneſs, and the ſmell of ſulphur, which foretold their approach, made every body take to their heels. Pliny roſe, by the help of two ſervants, and that very moment fell down dead, apparently ſuffocated by the thickneſs of the ſmoke.

This was the end of the learned Pliny. We cannot but be pleaſed with a nephew, for having drawn ſo well the death of his uncle, and for having ſeen nothing in it but fortitude, courage, intrepidity and greatneſs of ſoul. But to judge of it rightly, can we acquit an enterprize of raſhneſs,

raſhneſs, in which a man hazards his life, and what is more to be condemned, that of others, only to ſatisfy his curioſity?

It remains for me to conclude this article with a word or two upon Pliny's ſtile, which is peculiar to him, and like that of no other writer. We muſt not expect to find in it either the purity, elegance, or admirable ſimplicity of the Auguſtan age, from which however it was not removed very many years. His proper character is force, energy, vivacity, and I might ſay, even boldneſs, as well in his expreſſions as thoughts, with a wonderful fertility of imagination, to paint and make the objects he deſcribes ſenſible. But it muſt alſo be owned, that his ſtile is ſtiff and crampt, and thereby often obſcure; and that his thoughts frequently ſwell beyond truth, and are exceſſive, and even falſe. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew this by ſome examples.

Pliny explains the wonders contained in the matter of which ſails for ſhips are made, that is to ſay, of flax and * hemp. Man ſows only a ſmall ſeed in the ground, which ſuffices to make him maſter of the winds, and to ſubject them to his occaſions. Without mentioning an infinite number of uſes made of flax and hemp, what can be more wonderful, than to ſee an herb make Egypt and Italy approach each other, notwithſtanding the ſea that ſeparates them? And what herb is this? A ſmall, ſlender, weak blade, that ſcarce raiſes itſelf above the ground, that of itſelf forms neither a firm body nor ſubſtance, and requires to be prepared

Lib. 19. in Proœm.

* *Pliny mentions only flax.*

for our uſes, by being broken and reduced to the ſoftneſs of wool. Yet little as this plant is, we are indebted to it for the facility of tranſporting ourſelves from one end of the world to the other. *Seritur linum. Sed in qua non occurrit vitæ parte? quodve miraculum majus, herbam eſſe quæ admoveat Ægyptum Italiæ.——Denique tam parvo ſemine naſci, quod orbem terrarum ultro citroque portet, tam gracili avena, tam non altè a terra tolli; neque id viribus ſuis nexi, ſed paſſum, tuſumque, & in mollitiem lanæ coactum!*

Lib. 3. c. 5. He gives a magnificent idea of the grandeur and majeſty of the Roman empire. Rome, ſays he, is the mother at the ſame time and nurſe of the univerſe; choſen expreſſly by the gods to render heaven itſelf more illuſtrious, to unite all the empires diſperſed over the whole earth, to refine and ſoften manners and cuſtoms, to reduce to one and the ſame language the barbarous and diſcordant tongues of ſo many nations, to eſtabliſh amongſt them by that means an eaſy and ſalutary commerce, to communicate to man the laws of humanity; in a word, to make that city the common country of all the people of the univerſe. *Terra (Italia) omnium terrarum alumna, eadem & parens; numine deûm electa, quæ cælum ipſum clarius faceret, ſparſa congregaret imperia, rituſque molliret, & tot populorum diſcordes feraſque linguas ſermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, & humanitatem homini daret; breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.*

I ſhall only add one more paſſage in this place, which ſeemed very remarkable to me, and relates to all of us. It is with reaſon, ſays

ſays Pliny, that we give man the firſt rank amongſt all creatures, him for whom nature ſeems to have formed all others: but ſhe makes him pay dear for all her preſents; ſo that we do not know whether we have moſt room to conſider her in regard to him as an indulgent parent, or a rigid ſtepmother. All other animals come into the world, each in a different dreſs to cover it; man is the only one that ſtands in need of a foreign aid to cloath him. He is thrown at his birth ſtark naked upon the ground as naked as himſelf. The firſt ſigns of life that he gives are * cries, laments, and tears, which is not the caſe with any of the other animals. To this firſt uſe which he makes of the light, ſucceed the folds and bandages in which all his members are wrapt and bound up, a thing no leſs particular to him. It is in this condition the king of animals, over whom he

Lib. 7. in Proœm.

* *The Latin tongue has a peculiar word to expreſs the cries of infants,* vagitus, *as it alſo has for that of oxen, cows, and bulls,* mugitus; *and that of lions,* rugitus. *Our language has adopted the two laſt words,* mugiſſement, rugiſſement. *I know not why it ſhould not do the ſame in regard to the firſt, and uſe* vagiſſement, *which is in the ſame mode of analogy. This word might offend at firſt through its novelty; but we ſhould inſenſibly accuſtom ourſelves to it as well as to the others. For my part, not having ſufficient authority with the publick, I dared not venture it, and contented my ſelf, with ſome regret, to ſay only to my ſelf:*

——— Ego cur acquirere pauca
Si poſſum, invidear? ——— *Horat.*

The Tranſlator thought proper to retain this note, becauſe it is an example of what the author has ſaid above in the text, upon introducing new words into a language, and may ſerve for ours as well as the French.

is deſtined to reign, finds himſelf, as ſoon as born, tied hand and foot, and venting ſobs and ſhrieks. His life begins with torments and inflictions for the ſole crime of being born. How ſtrange is the folly of mankind to imagine themſelves, after ſuch beginnings, born for pride and pomp. *Principium jure tribuetur homini, cujus cauſa videtur cuncta alia genuiſſe natura, magna ſæva mercede contra tanta ſua munera; non ſit ut ſatis æſtimare, parens melior homini, an triſtior noverca fuerit. Ante omnia, unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat opibus: cæteris variè tegmenta tribuit.——Hominem tantùm nudum, & in nuda humo, natali die abjicit ad vagitus ſtatim & ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrymas, & has protinus vitæ principio.——Ab hoc lucis rudimento, quæ ne feras quidem inter nos genitas, vincula excipiunt, & omnium membrorum nexus. Itaque fæliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibuſque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum; & a ſuppliciis vitam auſpicatur unam tantùm ob culpam, quia natum eſt. Heu dementiam ab his initiis exiſtimantium ad ſuperbiam ſe genitos!* The pagans had a right ſenſe of man's miſery from his birth, but did not know the cauſe of it, as St. Auguſtin obſerves, ſpeaking of Cicero: *Rem vidit, cauſam non vidit.*

Theſe few paſſages which I have here quoted from Pliny, and have tranſlated as well as I could, without being able to render the energy of the original, may ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of his ſtile and character. I ſhould obſerve, before I conclude, upon the induſtrious art of the author I now ſpeak of. His work, which takes in all natural hiſtory, and treats circum-

circumſtantially an infinity of ſubjects, abſolutely neceſſary to his plan, but entirely diſagreeable in themſelves, abounds almoſt every where with thorns and brambles, which preſent nothing grateful to the reader, and are very capable of giving him diſguſt. Pliny, like an able writer, to prevent, or at leaſt to leſſen, this diſtaſte, has taken care to interſperſe here and there ſome flowers, to throw into ſome of his narratives abundance of graces and ſpirit, and to adorn almoſt all the prefaces, which he places in the front of each of his books, with fine and ſolid reflections.

LUCIAN.

Lucian, a Greek author, was born at Samoſata, the capital of Comagena, a province of Syria, of parents of very moderate condition. His father, not having any fortune to give him, reſolved to make him learn a trade. But the beginnings not being very much in his favour, he applied himſelf to literature, upon a dream, true or fictitious, related in the beginning of his works. I ſhall give an extract of it in this place, which may contribute to the reader's having an idea of his genius and ſtile.

I was fifteen years old, ſays he, when I left off going to ſchool, at which time my father conſulted with his friends how to diſpoſe of me. Several did not approve my being brought up to letters, becauſe much time and expence were neceſſary for ſucceſs in them. They conſidered that I was not rich, and that in learning a trade I ſhould ſoon be able to ſupply my ſelf with the means of life, without being a charge to my

father or family. This advice was followed, and I was put into the hands of an uncle, who was an excellent ſculptor. I did not diſlike this art, becauſe I had amuſed my ſelf very early in making little works of wax, in which I ſucceeded tolerably well: beſides which, ſculpture did not ſeem ſo much a trade to me, as an elegant diverſion. I was therefore ſet to work, to try how I ſhould take to it. But I began by laying on the chiſſel ſo clumſily upon the ſtone, which had been given me to work upon, and was very fine, that it broke under the weight of my fiſts. My uncle was ſo violently angry, that he could not help giving me ſeveral blows: ſo that my apprenticeſhip began with tears.

I ran home crying bitterly, and related this unfortunate adventure, ſhewing the marks of the blows I had received, which exceedingly afflicted my mother. In the evening I went to bed, and did nothing but ruminate upon what had happened all night. In my ſleep I had a dream, which made a very lively impreſſion upon me. I thought I ſaw two women. The one was rough and uncombed, with dirty hands, ſleeves tucked up, and her face all covered with ſweat and duſt, in ſhort, ſuch as my uncle was when at work. The other had a graceful air, a ſweet and ſmiling aſpect, and was very neat, though modeſt, in her attire. After having eagerly pulled me to and fro to make me join one of them, they referred the deciſion of their difference to my own choice, and pleaded their cauſe alternately.

The

The firſt began thus: " Son, I am ſculpture, " whom you have lately eſpouſed, and whom " you have known from your infancy, your " uncle having made himſelf very famous by " me. If you will follow me, without heark- " ning to the ſoothing words of my rival, I " will render you illuſtrious, not like her, by " words, but deeds For beſides, that you " will become ſtrong and vigorous like me, " you ſhall require an eſtimation not ſubject to " envy, nor one day the cauſe of your ruin, " like the charms of her who now endeavours " to ſeduce you. For the reſt, be not in pain " upon account of my habit; it is that of Phi- " dias and Polycletus, and thoſe other great " ſculptors, who, when alive, were adored for " their works, and who are ſtill adored with " the gods that they made. Conſider how much " praiſe and glory you will acquire by treading " in their ſteps, and what joy you will give " your father and family". This is very near what this lady ſaid to me in a rude groſs tone, as artiſans ſpeak, but with force and vivacity. After which, the other addreſſed herſelf to me in theſe words.

" I am erudition, who preſide over all the " branches of polite knowledge. Sculpture has " diſplayed the advantages you would have " with her. But if you hearken to her, you " will always continue a miſerable artificer, ex- " poſed to the contempt and inſults of the " world, and compelled to make your court " to the great for ſubſiſtance. Should you even " become the moſt excellent in your art, you " will only be admired, whilſt none will envy " your condition. But if you follow me, I

" will teach you whatever is moſt noble and moſt " excellent in the univerſe, and whatever anti- " quity boaſts of remarkable. I will adorn " thy ſoul with the moſt exalted virtues, ſuch as " modeſty, juſtice, piety, humanity, equity, " prudence, patience, and the love of whate- " ver is virtuous and laudable: for theſe are the " real ornaments of the ſoul. Inſtead of that " mean dreſs of yours, I will beſtow upon " thee a majeſtick one, like that thou ſeeſt me " wear; and from poor and unknown, I will " render thee illuſtrious and opulent, worthy " of the higheſt employments, and capable of " attaining them. If thou deſireſt to travel into " foreign countries, I will cauſe thy renown to " go before thee. People will come from all " parts to conſult thee as an oracle: the whole " world will homage and adore thee. I will " even give thee the ſo much boaſted immor- " tality, and make thee ſurvive for ever in the " remembrance of men. Conſider what Æſchi- " nes and Demoſthenes, the admiration of all " ages, became by my means. Socrates, who " at firſt followed ſculpture my rival, no ſooner " knew me, than he abandoned her for me. " Has he had cauſe to repent his choice? Will " you renounce ſuch honours, riches and au- " thority, to follow a poor unknown, who " has nothing to give thee, but the mallet and " chiſſel, the low inſtruments ſhe holds in " her hands, who is reduced to get the means " of life by the ſweat of her brows, and to be " more intent on poliſhing a piece of ſtone, " than in poliſhing herſelf"?

She

She had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, than ſtruck with her promiſes, and not having yet forgot the blows I had received, I ran to embrace her almoſt before ſhe ceaſed to ſpeak. The other, tranſported with rage and indignation, was immediately changed into a ſtatue, as is related of Niobe. Erudition thereupon, to reward my choice, made me aſcend with her into her chariot, and touching her winged horſes, ſhe carried me from eaſt to weſt, making me ſcatter univerſally, ſomething I know not what, of cœleſtial and divine, that cauſed mankind to look up with aſtoniſhment, and to load me with bleſſings and praiſes. She afterwards brought me back into my own country, crowned with honour and glory; and reſtoring me to my father, who expected me with great impatience: "Behold," ſaid ſhe to him, pointing to the robe I had on, "of how ex-
"alted a fortune you would have deprived
"your ſon, had I not interpoſed". Here ended my dream.

Lucian concludes this ſhort diſcourſe with obſerving, that his deſign, in relating this dream, which ſeems entirely a fiction of his own, was to inculcate the love of virtue in youth, and to encourage them by his example to ſurmount all the difficulties they may meet with in their courſe, and to conſider poverty as no obſtacle to real merit.

The effect this dream had, was to kindle in him an ardent deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſtudy of polite learning, to which he entirely devoted himſelf. We may judge of the progreſs he made in it, by the erudition that appears in his writings upon all manner of ſubjects;

jects; which gave me reaſon to place him amongſt the philologers.

He ſays himſelf, that he embraced the profeſſion of an advocate: but that abhorring the clamour and chicanery of the bar, he had recourſe to philoſophy as to an aſylum.

It appears alſo from his writings that he was a rhetorician, who profeſſed eloquence, and compoſed declamations and harangues upon different ſubjects, and even pleadings, though none of his making, have come down to us.

He ſettled firſt at Antioch; from whence he went into Ionia and Greece, and afterwards into Gaul and Italy: but his longeſt reſidence was at Athens. In his extreme old age, he accepted the office of regiſter to the præfect of Egypt. I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial account of the particulars of his life, which are of little importance to my ſubject. He lived to the reign of Commodus, to whom he inſcribed the hiſtory of Alexander the Impoſtor, after the death of Marcus Aurelius.

He left abundance of writings upon different ſubjects. The purity of the Greek tongue, and the clear, agreeable, lively, and animated ſtile, in which they are wrote, give the reader great pleaſure. In his dialogues of the dead, he has hit that admirable ſimplicity, and natural pleaſantry of humour, which are ſo well adapted to a manner of writing, which is extremely difficult, though it does not ſeem ſo, becauſe a vaſt number of perſonages, very different in their age and condition, are introduced ſpeaking in it, each according to their peculiar character.

His

His writings have this advantage, as Quintilian has obſerved of Cicero's, that they may be uſeful to beginners, and no leſs ſo to the more advanced. He is wonderful in his narration, and has an abundance in him, which may be of great ſervice to geniuſſes naturally dry and barren.

He treats fable in a manner at once agreeable and very proper to impreſs it upon the memory, which is of no ſmall advantage for the underſtanding of the poets. He paints admirably in a thouſand places the miſeries of this life, the vanity of mankind, the pride of the philoſophers, and the arrogance of the learned.

It is however true, that choice and diſcernment are neceſſary in reading this author, who, in many of his works, ſhews little reſpect for modeſty, and makes open profeſſion of impiety, equally deriding the chriſtian religion, of which he ſpeaks in many places with extreme contempt, and the pagan ſuperſtitions, of which he ſhews the ridicule. This occaſioned his being called blaſphemer and atheiſt. And indeed he followed the Epicurean philoſophy, which differs little from atheiſm; or rather he had neither religion, nor any fixed and conſtant principles, regarding every thing as uncertain and problematical, and making every thing matter of jeſt. Suidas.

Suidas ſays, it was generally believed that he was torn in pieces by dogs, as a judgment for his preſumption in making Chriſt the ſubject of his raillery. It were to be wiſhed that this fact was better atteſted.

AULUS

AULUS GELLIUS.

Aulus Gellius (or by corruption Agellius) was a grammarian, who lived in the ſecond century, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, and ſome other emperors his ſucceſſors. He ſtudied grammar at Rome, and philoſophy at Athens, under Calviſius Taurus, from whence he afterwards returned to Rome.

Gell. in Præf.

He rendered himſelf famous by his *Noctes Atticæ*, which name he gave to a collection he made for his children of whatever he had learnt, that was fine either in reading authors, or from the converſation of learned men. He called it ſo, becauſe he had compoſed it at Athens during the winter, when the length of the nights afforded more time for application. Macrobius has copied ſeveral things from him without quoting him.

There does not ſeem to be any great diſcernment in the topicks he has choſen as the moſt conſiderable and moſt uſeful, which are generally grammatical remarks of little importance. We are, however, indebted to him for many facts and monuments of antiquity, no where elſe to be found. Of the twenty books that compoſe this work, the eighth is entirely loſt; nothing remaining of it but the titles of the chapters. That wherein he tranſiently treats of the laws of the twelve tables is very much eſteemed.

Lib. 20. c. 1

Aulus Gellius's ſtile does not want force, but is often mixed with barbarous and improper words, which render it hard and obſcure, and argues

argues the age he lived in, from which little purity and elegance is to be expected.

Amongſt the particulars, which he tells us of his life, he obſerves, that whilſt he was very young, being choſen by the prætors to adjudge ſome little affairs of private perſons, one was brought before him, in which a man claimed a ſum of money, that he pretended to have lent another. He proved this only by ſome circumſtances of no great certainty, and had neither writing nor witneſs: but he was a man of unqueſtionable honour, irreproachable life, and known integrity. His oppoſite, on the contrary, who denied the debt, was notorious for his ſordid avarice; and was proved to have been often convicted of fraud and perfidy. Aulus Gellius, to adjudge this cauſe, had taken with him ſeveral of his friends verſed in the buſineſs of the bar, but who deſired nothing ſo much as diſpatch, having a great deal of other affairs to attend. Hence they made no difficulty to conclude, that a man could not be obliged to pay a debt, when there was no proofs that he owed it. Gell. l. 14. c. 2.

Aulus Gellius could not reſolve to diſmiſs the cauſe in this manner, believing one of the parties very capable of denying what he owed, and the other incapable of demanding what was not his due. He therefore referred judgment to another day, and went to conſult Favorinus, who was then alive and at Rome: he was a philoſopher of great reputation. Favorinus, upon his propoſing the caſe to him, repeated a paſſage of Cato, which ſays, that on theſe occaſions, where proofs were wanting, the antient cuſtom of the Romans was to examine, which

of

of the two were the honeſter man; and, when they were equally ſo, or equally otherwiſe, to adjudge the cauſe in favour of the perſon ſued: from whence Favorinus concluded, that with regard to two perſons, ſo different in their characters as the parties in the cauſe, there was no difficulty to believe an honeſt man preferably to a knave. Whatever reſpect Aulus Gellius might have for this philoſopher, he could not entirely give into his opinion; and, determining to do nothing againſt his conſcience, he declined paſſing judgment in an affair, into which he could not ſufficiently penetrate. The caſe would have no difficulty with us, becauſe the pretended debtor would be put to his oath, and be believed upon it.

ATHENÆUS.

Athenæus was of Naucratis, antiently a famous city of Egypt, upon an arm of the Nile that took its name from it. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Commodus. He compoſed a work in Greek, which he called *Dipnoſophiſta*, that is to ſay, *the banquet of the learned*; which abounds with curious and learned enquiries, and gives abundance of light into the Grecian antiquities. We have only an abridgment or extracts of the firſt books of his Dipnoſophiſta, made, as Caſaubon believes, at Conſtantinople, five or ſix hundred years ago.

Voſſ. hiſt. gr. l. 2. c. 15.

JULIUS POLLUX.

Julius Pollux was the countryman and contemporary of Athenæus. He inſcribed to Commodus, when only Cæſar, in the life-time of Marcus Aurelius, the ten books which we have of his under the title of *Onomaſticon*. It is a collection of the ſynonymous words by which the beſt Greek authors expreſs the ſame thing. He was apparently one of the præceptors of Commodus. He pleaſed that prince with his fine voice, who gave him the chair of profeſſor of eloquence, which had been founded at Athens. Philoſtratus, who places him amongſt the ſophiſts, aſcribes to him a great knowledge of the Greek language, a taſte for what was well or ill wrote, and genius enough for eloquence, but little art.

Philoſt. p. 589, 590.

SOLINUS.

C. Julius Solinus has left us a deſcription of the earth, under the name of *Polyhiſtor*. Voſſius relates many opinions upon the time when this author lived, and concludes, that all which can be ſaid of it is, that he preceded St. Jerom, who cites him, that is to ſay, after the firſt century, and before the end of the fourth. His work is only an extract from ſeveral authors, particularly Pliny the naturaliſt, and is done with no great genius and judgment.

Voſſ. hiſt. Lat. l. 3.

PHILOS-

PHILOSTRATUS.

There were many ſophiſts of this name. We ſhall ſpeak here only of him who wrote the life of Apollonius Tyanæus. He was one of the learned men, that frequented the court of the empreſs Julia, the wife of Severus. He profeſſed eloquence at Athens, and afterwards at Rome, in the reign of Severus. The life of Apollonius, written by Damis, the moſt zealous of his diſciples, which was properly no more than memoirs very meanly compoſed, having fallen into Julia's hands, ſhe gave it to Philoſtratus, who from thoſe memoirs, and what he could extract from the works of Apollonius himſelf, and other writings, compiled the hiſtory we have of him.

Suidas. Ant. J. C. 194.

Euſebius aſſerts, that it were eaſy to ſhew, that a great part of his narrations contradict themſelves, and breath nothing but fable and romance. Nor is he afraid to add, that his whole work abounds with fictions and falſities. Photius, who briefly repeats part of the facts of this hiſtory, treats many of them as impertinent fables. Suidas ſpeaks of them to the ſame effect.

Euſeb. in Hier.

Phot. c. 44.

The latter, beſides the life of Apollonius, aſcribes many other writings to Philoſtratus, and amongſt the reſt, four books of allegories and deſcriptions, which are ſtill extant, and have been judged a work of great beauty, well ſuſtained, and wrote with all the delicacy of the Attick tongue.

MACRO-

MACROBIUS.

This author, at the head of his works, is called *Aurelius Theodoſius Ambroſius Macrobius*. To which the epithet *Illuſtrious* is added, peculiar to thoſe advanced to the higheſt dignities of the empire. He was of a country, where the Latin tongue was not commonly ſpoke, that is to ſay, of Greece or of the Eaſt, and lived in the reigns of Theodoſius and his children.

Though it is not certain that this author is the Macrobius mentioned in the laws of Honorius and Theodoſius, it is, however, ſcarce to be doubted, but he lived about that time, as all the perſons he introduces ſpeaking in his Saturnalia lived very near it.

He feigns this converſation, in order to collect all that he knew of antiquities, which he intended for the inſtruction of his ſon Euſtathius, to whom he addreſſes it. And as he aſſembles in it all the greateſt and moſt learned perſons of Rome during the vacations of the *Saturnalia*, he gives that name to his work. He profeſſes to relate things generally in the expreſs words of the authors from whom he extracts them, becauſe his view in it was not to diſplay his eloquence, but to inſtruct his ſon: beſides which being a Greek, it was not entirely eaſy for him to expreſs himſelf in Latin. Accordingly his elocution is ſaid to be neither pure nor elegant; and that in the paſſages where he ſpeaks himſelf, a Greek ſeems talking broken Latin. As for the matters he treats, they have their beauty and erudition.

Saturn. l. 1. in Præfat.

Beſides the Saturnalia, there are two books of Macrobius's upon the dream, aſcribed by Cicero to Scipio, done alſo for his ſon Euſtathius, to whom he addreſſes them.

DONATUS.

Ant. J. C. 354. Donatus (*Ælius Donatus*) whoſe ſcholar St. Jerome was, taught grammar with great reputation at Rome, in the reign of the emperor Conſtantius.

We have the commentaries upon Virgil and Terence, which are pretended to be the ſame, aſcribed by St. Jerom to his maſter Donatus. The beſt judges believe, that there may be ſomething of his in the comment upon Virgil, but that abundance is added to it unworthy ſo able an hand. As to the comment upon Terence, it is attributed to Evanthius, otherwiſe called Eugraphius, who lived at the ſame time. Neither is it believed, that the lives of thoſe two poets are done by Donatus. We have ſome tracts upon grammar which bear his name, and are eſteemed.

SERVIUS.

Servius (*Maurus Honoratus*) lived about the reigns of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. He is known by the comment upon Virgil aſcribed to him. It is the general opinion, that this piece is only an abridgement extracted from the work of the true Servius, the loſs of which theſe extracts have occaſioned.

STOBÆUS.

Johannes Stobæus, a Greek author, lived in the fifth century. What remains of his collection, has preſerved ſome curious monuments of the antient poets and philoſophers. It is believed, that amongſt theſe fragments many things have been added by thoſe who came after him.

CHAPTER III.

OF RHETORICIANS.

THOSE who made it their profeſſion to teach eloquence, and have wrote precepts upon it, are called Rhetoricians.

Eloquence is the art of ſpeaking well. One might believe that for the attainment of it, it would ſuffice to hearken to, and follow the voice of, nature. She ſeems to dictate to us what it is neceſſary to ſay, and often even the manner of ſaying it. Do we not every day ſee a multitude of perſons, who without art or ſtudy, and by the pure force of genius, can give order, perſpicuity, eloquence, and above all, fine ſenſe to their diſcourſe? What more is wanting.

It is * true, that without the aid of nature precepts are of no uſe: but it is as true, that

* Illud in primis teſtandum eſt, nihil præcepta atque artes valere niſi adjuvante natura. *Quintil.* l. 1. *in Proœm.*

they very much ſupport and ſtrengthen her, in ſerving her as a rule and guide. Precepts are no more than obſervations, which have been made upon what was either fine or defective in diſcourſe. For, as * Cicero very well obſerves, eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence. Theſe reflections, reduced to order, formed what is called Rhetorick. Now who doubts, but they may be of great ſervice for attaining and improving the talent of ſpeaking.

Quintilian, in the third book of his *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, enumerates a conſiderable number of the antient rhetoricians, as well Greek as Latin. I ſhall expatiate only upon thoſe, whoſe names and hiſtories are beſt known, ſhall ſlightly paſs over others, and even ſay nothing of many. Mr. Gibert, who has been profeſſor of rhetorick in the college of Mazarine almoſt fifty years with great reputation, and has ſeveral times filled, and always with the ſame ſucceſs, the honourable place of principal in the univerſity of Paris, has compoſed a work upon the ſubject I now treat, abounding with erudition, of which, as an antient friend, he has given me permiſſion to make all the uſe I ſhould think fit.

* Non eſſe eloquentiam ex artificio, ſed artificium ex eloquentia natum. 1. *De Orat.* n. 146. Initium dicendi dedit natura; initium artis obſervatio. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 2.

ARTI-

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK RHETORICIANS.

EMPEDOCLES. CORAX. TISIAS.

EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a celebrated philoſopher, is ſuppoſed to be the firſt that had any knowledge of rhetorick; and *Corax* and *Tiſias*, both Sicilians, are ſaid to be the firſt who reduced it to rules. They had many diſciples, better known under the name of Sophiſts, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel. Quintil. l. 3. c. 1. Cic. in Brut. n. 46.

PLATO.

Though Plato ſeems to have undertaken to diſcredit rhetorick, he juſtly deſerves to be ranked in the number of the moſt excellent rhetoricians, having only cenſured and ridiculed thoſe who diſhonoured this art by the abuſe of it, and the bad taſte of eloquence they endeavoured to introduce. The ſolid and judicious reflections, which we find in ſeveral of his dialogues, eſpecially in the Phædrus and Gorgias, may be conſidered as a good rhetorick, and contains the moſt important principles of it.

ARISTOTLE.

Ariſtotle is acknowledged with reaſon the chief and prince of rhetoricians. His rhetorick, divided into three books, has always been conſidered by the learned as a maſterpiece, and the

moſt conſummate treatiſe that ever appeared upon this ſubject. We are indebted for this work to its author's jealouſy, or rather emulation. * Iſocrates, at that time very old, taught eloquence at Athens with extraordinary ſucceſs, and was followed by a great number of illuſtrious diſciples. I might for that reaſon have given him place amongſt the rhetoricians: but I refer ſpeaking of him to another title. So ſhining a reputation alarmed Ariſtotle. By an happy parody to a verſe of a Greek tragedy, he ſaid to himſelf: *It is a ſhame for me to keep ſilence, and let Iſocrates ſpeak.*

Αἰσχρον σιωπᾶν, Ισοκράτην δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.

Till then he had ſolely taught philoſophy; which he continued to do only in the mornings, and opened his ſchool in the afternoon, to teach pupils the precepts of rhetorick.

It appears that Ariſtotle compoſed ſeveral works upon rhetorick. Cicero ſpeaks in more than one place of a collection, in which this † philoſo-

De Invent. l. 2. n. 6. De Orat. l. 2. n. 160.

* Itaque ipſe Ariſtoteles, cùm florere Iſocratem nobilitate diſcipulorum videret—mutavit repente totam formam prope diſciplinæ ſuæ, verſumque quemdam de Philoctete paulo ſecus dixit. Ille enim tacere ait ſibi eſſe turpe cum barbaris; hic autem, cùm Iſocratem pateretur dicere. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 141.

Iſocratis præſtantiſſimi diſcipuli fuerunt in omni ſtudiorum genere; eoque jam ſeniore——pomeridianis ſcholis Ariſtoteles præcipere artem oratoriam cœpit. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

† Nominatim cujuſque præcepta magnâ conquiſita curâ perſpicuè conſcripſit, atque enodata diligenter expoſuit; ac tantùm inventoribus ipſis ſuavitate & brevitate dicendi præſtitit, ut nemo illorum præcepta ex ipſorum libris cognoſcat; ſed omnes,

philoſopher had inſerted all the precepts of that art which had appeared from Tiſias, whom he conſiders as the inventor of it, to his own times; and had treated them with ſuch elegance, perſpicuity, and order, that people no longer had recourſe to their authors for them, but only to Ariſtotle.

Immediately after Ariſtotle's rhetorick, conſiſting of three books, there is another entituled, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, as addreſſed to Alexander, and compoſed expreſsly for him. But all the learned agree that it is not Ariſtotle's.

He had compoſed ſome books upon this ſubject in the name of Theodectes. What Valerius Maximus relates on this head, would do no honour to Ariſtotle, if it were true. He tells us, that to pleaſe Theodectes, one of his diſciples, for whom he had a particular regard, he had made him a preſent of theſe books, and given him leave to publiſh them in his own name: but that afterwards repenting his having inconſiderately transferred his glory to another, he declared himſelf the author of them. Accordingly he cites them as his in his rhetorick. It continued a doubt to the time of Quintilian, whether this work was wrote by Ariſtotle or Theodectes. Lib. 3. c. 9. p. 593. Quintil. l. 2. c 15.

However it were, his rhetorick, which is come down to us, and which no body diſputes being his, is the moſt generally eſteemed of all his works, for its wonderful order, the ſolidity

omnes, qui, quod illi præcipiant, velint intelligere, ad hunc quaſi ad quemdam multo commodiorem explicatorem convertantur. *De Invent.*

of the reflections incorporated with the precepts, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, which appears particularly in his treatiſe upon the manners and paſſions. Maſters whoſe province it is to teach youth eloquence, cannot ſtudy ſo excellent a book too much. The ſame may be ſaid of his Poeticks.

ANAXIMENES.

Anaximenes of Lampſacus is generally taken for the author of the rhetorick addreſſed to Alexander. It has its merit, but is very much inferior to that of Ariſtotle. He wrote upon many other ſubjects.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus is of the firſt rank amongſt the hiſtorians and rhetoricians. I conſider him in this place only under the latter denomination.

Soon after Auguſtus had terminated the civil wars, about the 187th olympiad, and twenty eight years before Jeſus Chriſt, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſeus came to ſettle at Rome, where he reſided twenty eight years. It is believed, from ſome paſſages in his writings, that he taught rhetorick there either publickly or in private.

Vol. II. p. 21, & 64.

All that he wrote upon this head is not come down to us. We have a treatiſe of this author upon *the diſpoſition of words*, another upon *the Art*; a third, which is not perfect, *of the characters of the ancient writers*, and eſpecially the orators. In the firſt part he ſpeaks of *Lyſias*, *Iſocrates*,

Iſocrates, and *Iſæus*; in the ſecond he treated of *Demoſthenes*, *Hyperides*, and *Æſchines*; nothing remains of it, but what relates to Demoſthenes, nor is that fragment entire. He adds alſo ſomething on Dinarchus. Two letters follow: the one to Ammæus, wherein he examines *whether Demoſthenes formed himſelf upon Ariſtotle's rhetorick*; the other to one Pompeius, wherein *he gives an account of what he thinks vicious in Plato's diction*: We have ſtill his *compariſons* of Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon, Philiſtus, and Theopompus. And laſtly, we have his reflections upon *what forms the peculiar character of Thucydides*. The end of theſe laſt works is to make known the characters of the authors of whom he ſpeaks, and to ſhew wherein they are and are not imitable.

What we have of this author's is not therefore a rhetorick in form, but fragments of rhetorick, or certain points of that art, which he thought fit to treat.

His enquiry into the moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, and the judgment he paſſes on them, may be of great uſe in forming the taſte. It is true, we are ſhocked at firſt with the liberty he takes in arraigning certain articles of Plato and Thucydides, for whom, in other reſpects, he profeſſes the higheſt eſteem and regard. It would be very uſeful, and not diſagreeable to the reader, to enter into the exact diſcuſſion of his judgments, and to examine, without prejudice, and with attention, whether they are or are not founded in reaſon and truth. Neither the plan of my work, nor the mediocrity of my talents, admit me to think of ſuch an

Vol. II. p. 120, 137, 161.

an undertaking. Our author declares in ſeveral paſſages, that it is neither the deſire to exalt himſelf, nor to depreciate others, that are his motive and guide in his criticiſms, but the ſincere intent of being uſeful to his readers: which is an happy diſpoſition for forming right judgments.

Vol. II. p. 80, 81.

A very ſhort fragment which remains of his, ſhews us his motive for compoſing his treatiſes of rhetorick: this was the deſire of contributing to the eſtabliſhment of good taſte in regard to eloquence. From the death of Alexander the Great king of Macedon, it had ſuffered great alterations in Greece, and by an imperceptible, but always encreaſing, decline, it was at laſt ſunk to ſuch an ebb, that it could ſcarce be known for itſelf. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that this alteration and decay began by Demetrius Phalereus. Inſtead of that manly and natural beauty, that noble and antient ſimplicity, that air of dignity and grandeur, which had acquired it univerſal reſpect and unlimited empire over the minds and paſſions of mankind; its rival, I mean Falſe Eloquence, from the delightful regions of Aſia, tacitly laboured to ſupplant it, made uſe of paint and glaring colours for that purpoſe, and aſſumed ſuch ornaments as were beſt ſuited to dazzle the eyes, and illude the mind. This laſt-comer, with no other merit than that of a ſplendid but vain attire, tho' a ſtranger, at length eſtabliſhed herſelf in all the cities of Greece, to the excluſion of the other, a native of the country, who ſaw herſelf expoſed to the oblivion, contempt, and even inſults of thoſe, who had formerly ſo long and ſo juſtly admired her. Our author, in this point,

point, compares Greece to an houſe, wherein a concubine of art and addreſs, who by her charms and inſinuations has gained an entire aſcendant over the huſband, has introduced diſorder and depravity, and governs without controul; whilſt the lawful wife, become in ſome meaſure a ſlave, has the affliction to ſee herſelf deſpiſed and neglected, and is every day reduced to ſuffer the moſt ſenſible affronts and indignities. He obſerves with joy, that ſound eloquence has for ſome time reſumed her antient credit, and compelled her rival in her turn to give her place. All he ſays here regards Greece; and he aſcribes ſo happy a change to the good taſte which then prevailed at Rome, from whence it had already diffuſed itſelf, and daily would continue to do ſo more and more, into all the cities of Greece, that emulated each other in imitating the example of the reigning city. It was to contribute to this revival of eloquence in his country, that Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus compoſed all his books upon rhetorick: a laudable motive, and well worthy of a good and zealous citizen.

HERMOGENES.

Hermogenes was a native of Tarſus in Cilicia, and lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. That prince having had the curioſity to hear his lectures, was charmed with them, and made him great preſents. He began to profeſs rhetorick at the fifteenth year of his age; and was but eighteen when he compoſed his book upon it, which is eſteemed a very good work by the learned. But, by a very ſin- Philoſtr. de vit. Sophiſt. l. 2. p. 575.

gular event, at the age of four and twenty, he became ſtupid, and continued ſo during the reſt of his life. He died in the beginning of the third century.

APHTHONIUS.

Aphthonius lived about the end of the ſecond age of the church, or the beginning of the third. Inſtead of writing upon rhetorick, as others had done, only for thoſe who had made ſome progreſs in the knowledge and uſe of that art, in order to perfect them in it; Aphthonius wrote ſolely for children, his precepts extending no farther than the compoſitions he believed it neceſſary for them to make, to prepare them for what was greateſt in eloquence.

LONGINUS.

Dionyſius Longinus was a native of Athens, but by deſcent of Syria. Though he excelled very much in philoſophy, Plotinus ſays however, that he was leſs a philoſopher than a man of letters: and indeed it was by the latter particularly he acquired the greateſt reputation. He had abundance of erudition, and the moſt refined, exact, and ſolid diſcernment in judging works of wit, and remarking their beauties and defects.

Of all his works, time has left us only his treatiſe *of the Sublime*, which is one of the fineſt fragments of antiquity. We have Mr. Boileau's excellent tranſlation of it, which has more the air of an original than a copy, has made all the world judges of its merit, and has juſtified the

the general eſteem the learned always had for its author. Cæcilius, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, had before compoſed a treatiſe upon the Sublime: but he had contented himſelf with explaining what it was, without laying down any rules for attaining that ſublimity, which does not ſo much perſuade, as raviſh and tranſport the mind of the reader. It is the latter point Longinus undertakes to treat in his work.

Amongſt the examples which he gives of this ſhining and magnificent manner of ſtile, he ſpeaks of Moſes in theſe terms: "The legiſ-
"lator of the Jews, who was no common
"perſon, having extremely well conceived the
"grandeur and power of God, expreſſes them
"in all their dignity in the beginning of his
"laws, in theſe words: *God ſaid, let there be*
"*light and there was light:* Let the earth be
"and the earth was". *

Longinus taught Zenobia the Greek language, who eſpouſed the celebrated Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and afterwards emperor of the Romans. It is ſaid, that he adviſed that princeſs to write the haughty letter ſhe ſent the emperor Aurelian, during the ſiege of Palmy- Aurel Vict. in Aurel.

* *In the French the words are,* Que la lumiere ſe faſſe, & la lumiere ſe fit; Que la terre ſe fit, elle fut faite. *Mr. Rollin ſays, there is more energy and ſublimity in the Hebrew, which has literally,* Que la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut: Let there be light and there was light; *exactly as in the Engliſh verſion. The word* faire, *continues he, ſeems to imply ſome effort, and a ſucceſſion of time; whereas the terms,* Que la lumiere ſoit, & la lumiere fut; Let there be light and there was light, *expreſs better a rapid obedience to the Lord of Nature's command.*

ra;

ra ; and that it was for that reaſon Aurelian
Zos. l. 1. cauſed him to be put to death. He ſuffered that ſentence with great fortitude, conſoling thoſe who expreſſed their grief for his deſtiny

DEMETRIUS.

There is a treatiſe in Greek *upon Elocution*, which, though a very ſmall fragment of rhetorick, is however of ſufficient value to do honour to its author, and is aſcribed to a perſon whoſe name reflects no leſs honour upon the work : this is the famous Demetrius Phalereus, ſo called from the Athenian port Phalerus, where he was born. The criticks do not however entirely agree that this work was his ; ſome of whom attribute it to Demetrius Alexandrinus, an author of much later date than the former; and others believe it to have been wrote by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. Mr. Gibert proves, by a very judicious examination of the work itſelf, its ſtile and principles, that it was not compoſed by Demetrius Phalereus.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN RHETORICIANS.

IT was not without difficulty and oppoſition, that the Latin rhetoricians ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing themſelves at Rome. It is well known that this city, ſolely intent in the firſt ages upon eſtabliſhing its power, and extending its conqueſts, did not apply itſelf at all to the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences. Four or five hundred years elapſed, before they were in any eſteem at Rome. Philoſophy was abſolutely unknown there, as well as all other * eloquence, but that which proceeds from nature and happineſs of genius, without the aid of art or precepts. The Grecian philoſophers and rhetoricians who went to Rome, carried thither with them the taſte for the arts which they profeſſed. We have ſeen that Paulus Æmilius, in the tour he made into Greece after having conquered Perſeus the laſt king of Macedonia, demanded of the Athenians, that they would chuſe him an excellent philoſopher to finiſh the education of his children. An. Rom. 583. Ant. J. C. 167.

This cuſtom had taken place for ſome time before at Rome; but was ſoon interrupted by an edict, paſſed in the conſulſhip of Strabo and Meſſala, by which it was decreed, that all philoſophers and rhetoricians ſhould quit Rome; An. Rom. 591. Ant. J. C. 161. Sueton. de clar. rhet. c. 1.

* Primò quidem Romani, qui nullum artis præceptum eſſe arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, conſequebantur. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Orat.* n. 14.

exerciſes

exercises in their way, unknown till then, giving offence to the state.

An. Rom. 597. Ant. J. C. 155. Plut. in Cat. Cens. p. 349.

Five or six years after this edict ambassadors arrived at Rome from Athens upon a particular affair. All the young Romans, who had any taste for study, went to visit them, and were transported with admiration on hearing them discourse. Carneades especially, one of those ambassadors, in whose eloquence force united with abundance of grace and delicacy, acquired extraordinary reputation. The whole city rung with his praise. It was universally talked, that a Greek was arrived of admirable talents; that his great knowledge made him more than man; and that his equally animated and delightful eloquence inspired such an ardour for study in youth, as induced them to renounce all other pleasures and avocations. The Romans saw with great satisfaction their children addict themselves to the Greek erudition passionately attached to these wonderful persons. Cato only, as soon as this love of learning began to gain ground in the city, was much concerned at it; apprehending, that the ambition and emulation of youth might be engrossed by it, and that in consequence they might prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting, well. But when he saw that the discourses of these philosophers, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in great vogue throughout the whole city, and were read with universal applause; he employed all his credit in the senate to terminate the affair which had brought the ambassadors to Rome, and to hasten their departure. "Let them return to "their schools, said he, and teach there as long "as they please, the children of the Greeks: "but

" but let the Roman youth hear nothing with-
" in theſe walls except the laws and the magiſ-
" trates, as they did before their arrival." As if the ſtudy of philoſophy and eloquence was incompatible with obedience to the laws and magiſtrates.

The * departure and abſence of theſe philoſophers did not extinguiſh the ardor for ſtudy, which their diſcourſes had inſpired. The taſte for eloquence became the univerſal paſſion of the Roman youth; and far from abating the deſire of military glory, as Cato had apprehended, it only ſerved to exalt its value and merit. We may judge of this from what hiſtory tells us of Scipio Africanus, who lived at that time. He was of ſo refined and delicate a taſte in regard to polite learning, that, as well as Lælius, he was ſuſpected of having ſome ſhare in writing Terence's comedies, the moſt perfect work we have in that kind. He had always with him perſons † of the firſt rank in learning, as Panætius and Polybius, who accompanied him even in the field. The latter informs us, that Scipio, whilſt very young, and conſequently even at the time we ſpeak of, had a very ſtrong inclination for the ſciences, and that abundance of learned men in every kind came daily from Greece to Rome. Now was Scipio the worſe captain, for having been a man of letters?

* Auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitiſque eorum literis, adhibitiſque doctoribus, incredibili quodam noſtri homines dicendi ſtudio flagraverunt. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat.* n. 14.

† Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit. *Vell. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 13.

From that time the ſtudy of eloquence, during almoſt fifty years, was ſo highly eſteemed at Rome, that it was regarded as one of the moſt effectual methods for attaining the higheſt dignities in the commonwealth. But it was taught only by the Greek rhetoricians: whence all the exerciſes, by which the youth were formed, were made in a foreign language, and in the mean time that of the country, that is to ſay the Latin tongue, was almoſt univerſally neglected. Who does not perceive how much this cuſtom, if I may venture to ſay ſo, was contrary to right reaſon and good ſenſe? For after all, it was in Latin that theſe young perſons were one day to plead at the bar, to harangue the people, and give their opinions in the ſenate: it was therefore in Latin they ought to have been taught to ſpeak and compoſe. I do not ſay, that it was neceſſary to exclude compoſitions in Greek. As they could find no perfect models of eloquence but in the Greek orators, it was abſolutely proper for them to ſtudy that language thoroughly, and to compoſe in Greek, in order to form themſelves upon ſuch excellent models. Cicero uſed this cuſtom, even when more advanced in years, for which he gives this reaſon: "I did this, "ſays he, becauſe the Greek language, ſup- "plying more ornaments, accuſtomed me to "compoſe in the ſame manner in Latin. Be- "ſides ſtudying under ſuch great maſters of e- "loquence, who were all Greeks, it would not "have been in their power to have inſtructed "and corrected my compoſitions, if I had not "made them in Greek." But he tells us, that he

De clar. Orat. n. 310.

he united them alſo with Latin exerciſes, though leſs frequently.

I have ſaid that Cicero was at that time ſomething advanced in life. For we ſhall ſoon ſee, that he compoſed his firſt ſtudies only in Greek, the Latin rhetoricians not being yet eſtabliſhed at Rome, or having but very lately began to teach there. This it is time to explain, with which I ſhall introduce my account of the Latin rhetoricians, of whom I am to ſpeak in this article.

L. PLOTIUS GALLUS.

Cuſtom has a kind of deſpotick ſway, and does not give place even to reaſon and experience without exceeding difficulty. Suetonius, upon the authority of Cicero, in a letter which is loſt, informs us, that L. Plotius Gallus was the firſt who taught rhetorick at Rome in the Latin tongue. This he did with great ſucceſs, and had a great concourſe of hearers. De clar. rhet. c 2. An. Rom. 658. Ant. J. C. 94.

Cicero, at that time very young, ſtudied rhetorick, but under Greek maſters, who alone till then had taught it at Rome He had acquired ſo great a reputation amongſt his fellow pupils, that out of particular diſtinction, and to do him honour, when they left the ſchools, they always placed him in the midſt of them; and the fathers of thoſe children, who every day heard them extol the pregnancy of his wit, and the maturity of his judgment, went expreſsly to the ſchools to be witneſſes of them in perſon, not being able to believe all the great things related of him. Plut. in Cic. p. 861.

It was at this time * Plotius opened a rhetorick-ſchool at Rome. All the Roman youth, that had the leaſt taſte of eloquence, were paſſionately fond of hearing him. Cicero, then but fourteen years old, would gladly have followed that example, and improved from the leſſons of this new maſter, whoſe reputation was very great throughout the whole city; and was ſenſibly concerned on being debarred that liberty. "I was prevented, ſays he, by the "authority and advice of the moſt learned "perſons, who were of opinion, that the ex-"erciſes of rhetorick in the Greek tongue "were better adapted to forming the minds of "youth."

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2.

It is not to be doubted, that Cicero means Craſſus in this place: he explains himſelf more clearly in another, where he ſays, that whilſt he was very young, he ſtudied with his couſins, the ſons of Aculeo, under maſters choſen according to the taſte and advice of Craſſus.

An. Rom. 660. Ant. J. C. 92.

The Latin rhetoricians were in great eſteem at Rome, and their ſchools much frequented: but a terrible ſtorm ſoon roſe up againſt them. The cenſors, Domitius Ænobarbus and Licinius Craſſus, paſſed an edict in regard to them, the tenor of which Suetonius has preſerved. "We "have been informed, ſays thoſe cenſors, that "there are perſons, who under the name of

Sueton. de clar. rhet. c. 1.

* Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primùm Latinè docere cœpiſſe Lucium Plotium quemdam: ad quem cùm fieret concurſus, quòd ſtudioſiſſimus quiſque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctiſſimorum hominum auctoritate, qui exiſtimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali meliùs ingenia poſſe. *Cic. apud Sueton. de clar. Rhet.* c. 2.

"Latin

" Latin rhetoricians, ſet themſelves up for " teachers of a new art, and that youth aſſem- " ble in their ſchools, where they paſs whole " days in idleneſs. Our anceſtors have deli- " vered down to us, what they deſired their " children ſhould be taught, and to what " ſchools they ſhould go. Theſe new eſta- " bliſhments, ſo oppoſite to the cuſtoms and " uſages of our forefathers, are not pleaſing " to us, and appear contrary to diſcipline and " good order. Wherefore we think it incum- " bent on us to notify this our opinion, as well " to thoſe who have opened ſuch ſchools, as to " ſuch as frequent them, and to declare that " ſuch innovation is not agreeable to us."

The Craſſus, of whom I have hitherto ſpoke, is one of the perſons, whom Cicero introduces in his books *de oratore*. That dialogue is ſup- poſed to have paſſed two years after the cenſor- ſhip of Craſſus. He makes an apology in it for his edict againſt the Latin rhetoricians. " I " ſilenced * them, ſays he, not to oppoſe, as " ſome have reproached me, the progreſs of " youth in eloquence, but on the contrary, to

An. Rom. 662. Ant. J. C. 90.

* Etiam Latini, ſi diis placet, hoc biennio magiſtri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego cenſor edicto meo ſuſtuleram: non quo (ut neſcio quos dicere ajebant) acui ingenia adoleſcentium nollem; ſed contrà, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Nam apud Græcos, cuicui modo eſſent, videbam tamen eſſe, præter hanc exercitationem linguæ, doctrinam aliquam & humanitatem d'gnam ſcientia. Hos verò novos magiſtros nihil intelligebam poſſe docere, niſi ut auderent: quod, etiam cum bonis rebus conjunctum, per ſe ipſum eſt magnopere fugiendum. Hoc cum unum traderetur, & cum impudentiæ ludus eſſet, putavi eſſe cenſoris, ne longiùs id ſerperet, providere. *Lib.* 3. *de orat.* n. 93, 94.

" prevent their minds from being corrupted " and ſtupified, and their contracting preſump- " tion and impudence. For indeed I obſerved, " that amongſt the Greek rhetoricians, how in- " different ſoever their merit, beſides the exer- " ciſe of ſpeaking, in which their profeſſion " properly conſiſts, there always was a fund of " ſolid and eſtimable knowledge. But I did " not conceive that our youth could acquire " any thing under theſe new maſters, unleſs it " were boldneſs and confidence, always blame- " able, even when united with other good qua- " lities. As this therefore was all they could " learn of them, and their ſchools, to ſpeak " properly, were only ſchools of impudence, " I thought it my duty, as cenſor, to put a " ſtop to ſuch abuſes, and prevent their perni- " cious conſequences."

All I have hitherto ſaid, proves how liable, in point of erudition and ſcience, new methods and eſtabliſhments are to obſtacles and contradictions, even from perſons of the greateſt merit, and of the beſt intentions in other reſpects. But utility and truth at laſt prevail, and open themſelves a way thro' all the difficulties that oppoſe them. When theſe ſtorms and troubles are blown over; when prejudices, frequently blind and precipitate, have given place to ſerious and calm reflection; and things are examined with temper and in cool blood, we are ſurprized that practices ſo uſeful in themſelves ſhould have been capable of meeting with ſuch oppoſition. This is the fate, though of a different kind, the philoſophy of Deſcartes experienced amongſt us, which was at firſt attacked ſo warmly, and is now almoſt univerſally approved.

The

The ſame happened at Rome in regard to the Latin rhetoricians. They perceived at length how conſiſtent it was with right reaſon and good ſenſe, to form and exerciſe youth for eloquence in the language they were always to ſpeak; and after theſe firſt ſhocks, the ſchools of the Latin rhetoricians were eſtabliſhed in tranquillity, and did not a little contribute to the amazing progreſs of the ſtudy of eloquence in the ſucceeding years.

The Greek rhetoricians, however, were not neglected, and had a great ſhare in the improvement of which I have been ſpeaking. It is ſurprizing to conſider the ardour and paſſion, with which the Roman youth went to hear theſe maſters, and even when of more advanced years. Cicero had begun to appear at the bar in his twenty ſixth year. His pleadings for S. Roſcius Amerinus acquired him an extraordinary reputation. Molo, the celebrated Greek rhetorician, came to Rome about this time as a deputy from the Rhodians. Cicero, highly capable as he already was, became his diſciple, and thought himſelf happy and honoured in receiving leſſons from him. After having pleaded two years, his health, or perhaps reaſons of policy, having obliged him to ſuſpend his application to buſineſs, and to make a voyage into Greece and Aſia, beſides the ſeveral maſters of eloquence whom he heard at Athens and elſewhere, he went expreſsly to Rhodes to put himſelf again under the diſcipline of Molo; in order that ſo excellent a maſter might take pains in reforming, and in a manner, in new-moulding his ſtile: *Apollonio Moloni ſe Rhodi* Quintil.

De clar. orat. n. 312.

Ibid. n. 315, 316.

rurſus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit. Molo * was an exceeding good pleader, and compoſed very finely: but his principal happineſs lay in diſcerning and exploding the defects in the ſtile of thoſe, who applied themſelves to him, and he had a wonderful happineſs in correcting them, by the wiſe advice and ſolid inſtructions he gave them. He endeavoured, for I dare not ſay he effected it (ſays Cicero) to correct and reſtrain a vicious redundance in my ſtile, which too licentiouſly overflowed its juſts bounds, and taught me not to abandon my ſelf to the impetuoſity of my years, and the fire of an imagination, that wanted maturity and experience. Cicero confeſſes, that from thenceforth, a great alteration enſued in his manner, as well in regard to the tone of his voice, which he exerted no longer with ſo much vehemence, as his ſtile, which became more exact and correct.

Theſe young Romans muſt have had a very warm deſire to improve themſelves in eloquence; to take ſo much pains in going to hear the rhetoricians, and not to bluſh, though already in great reputation, to become their diſciples again, and to confeſs their ſtill having occaſion for their aid. But, on the other ſide,

* Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi: cum actorem in veris cauſis, ſcriptoremque præſtantem, tum in notandis animadvertendiſque vitiis, & inſtituendo decendoque prudentiſſimum. Is dedit operam (ſi modò id conſequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia, reprimeret, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio poſt, non modo exercitatior, ſed prope mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis reſederat, & quaſi debuerat oratio. *De clar. orat.* n. 316.

the

the merit of ſuch rhetoricians muſt have been very ſolid and well eſtabliſhed, to have acquired ſo great a confidence in it, and to have ſupported the idea, which ſuch perſons as Cicero conceived of it.

Plotius, the firſt of the Latin rhetoricians, who gave occaſion for what I have ſaid hitherto, had without doubt collegues and ſucceſſors, who acquitted themſelves of the ſame function with honour. Suetonius mentions ſeveral: but as they are little known, I proceed directly to Cicero, who indeed did not immediately teach eloquence as a maſter, but has left us excellent precepts upon it.

CICERO.

Cicero, by his treatiſes upon rhetorick, has juſtly merited the honour of being placed at the head of the Latin rhetoricians; as he has by his orations that of the firſt rank amongſt the orators.

His tracts upon rhetorick are: *Three books de Oratore*; one book intitled ſimply *the Orator*; *A dialogue*, intitled *Brutus*, *upon the illuſtrious Orators*; two books upon *Invention*; the *Partes Oratoriæ*, *the compleat Orator*, and the *Topicks*. In this enumeration of Cicero's works upon eloquence, I do not follow the order of time in which they were compoſed.

I. The three firſt are abſolute maſter-pieces, in which what was called the *Roman urbanity*, *Urbanitas Romana*, prevails in a ſupreme degree, which anſwers to the atticiſm of the Greeks, that is to ſay, whatever was fineſt, moſt delicate, moſt animated, and in a word, moſt

conſum-

conſummate as to thought, expreſſion, and tour of genius.

The three books *of the Orator* are, properly ſpeaking Cicero's rhetorick: not a dry rhetorick, ſtuck with precepts, and deſtitute of grace and beauty, but one that, with the ſolidity of principles and reflections, unites all the art, delicacy, and ornament, of which a ſubject of that nature is ſuſceptible. He * compoſed this work at the requeſt of his brother Q. Cicero, who deſired to have ſomething more perfect of his than the books upon invention, which were the firſt fruits of his youth, and by no means worthy the reputation he afterwards attained. To avoid the air and dryneſs of the ſchools, he treats this ſubject in dialogues, wherein he introduces as ſpeakers the greateſt and moſt famous perſons Rome had for wit, erudition, and eloquence. The time wherein theſe dialogues are ſuppoſed to be held, is the 662d year from the foundation of Rome. and ninety years before Jeſus Chriſt, in the conſulſhip of L. Marcius Philippus, and Sextus Julius Cæſar.

This manner of writing, I mean dialogue, is extremely difficult: becauſe, without mentioning the variety of characters, which muſt every where be equally ſuſtained without the leaſt deviation from them, two things that ſeem almoſt incompatible muſt unite in them, the ſimple and natural air of familiar diſcourſe, with the elegant ſtile of the converſation of perſons

* Vis enim, quoniam quædam pueris aut adoleſcentulis nobis ex commentariolis noſtris inchoata atque rudia exciderunt, vix hac ætate digna & hoc uſu —— aliquid iiſdem de rebus politius à nobis perfectiúſque proferri. *De orat.* l. 1 n. 5.

of

of wit. Plato, of all the antient authors, is generally conceived to have ſucceeded beſt in dialogue. But we may indiſputably give Cicero an equal rank with him, to ſay no more, eſpecially in the treatiſes of which we now ſpeak. I do not know whether my eſteem and love for an orator, with whom I might ſay I have been brought up from my earlieſt infancy, prejudice and blind me in his favour; but, in my ſenſe, there is in theſe converſations a taſte, a ſalt, a ſpirit, a grace, a native elegance, that can never be ſufficiently admired.

The third of the books I ſpeak of treats, amongſt other ſubjects, of the choice and order of words, a dry and diſagreeable topick in itſelf, but of great uſe to the Roman eloquence, and which more than any thing ſhews the profound genius and extent of mind of this orator. When he came firſt to the bar, he found the Roman eloquence abſolutely deſtitute of an advantage, which infinitely exalted that of the Greeks, to which he had devoted his whole application, and of which he knew all the beauties, as well as if it had been his native tongue, ſo familiar had he made it to him by cloſe and profound ſtudy. This advantage was the ſound, number, cadence and harmony, of which the Greek is more ſuſceptible than any other language, and which give it an inconteſtable ſuperiority in this view to them all. Cicero, who was extremely zealous for the honour of his country, undertook to impart to it this advantage, of which till then the Greeks had been in ſole poſſeſſion.

He * perceived that words like ſoft wax, have a flexibility wonderfully capable of receiving every kind of form, and of being adapted in whatever manner we pleaſe. The proof of which is, that for all the different ſpecies of verſe, which are very numerous; for all the diverſity of ſtiles, the ſimple, the florid, and the ſublime; for all the effects which ſpeech is capable of producing, to pleaſe, to convince, to move; words of a different nature are not employed; but taken from one common heap, to uſe that expreſſion, and alike diſpoſed for every uſe, they lend themſelves at the poet's and orator's diſcretion, to be applied in whatever manner they think fit.

Cicero, well convinced of this principle, of which the reading and ſtudy of the Greek authors had given him a ſenſible proof, or rather which he had extracted from nature itſelf, undertook to add this charm to the Latin language, of which, before his time, it was entirely deſtitute. This he affected with ſuch ſucceſs and promptitude, that in a few years it aſ-

* Nihil eſt tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile ſequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio. Ex hac verſus, ex eadem diſpares numeri conficiuntur: ex hac etiam ſoluta variis modis multorumque generum oratio. Non enim ſunt alia ſermonis, alia contentionis verba; neque ex alio genere ad uſum quotidianum, alio ad ſcenam pompamque ſumuntur: ſed ea nos cum jacentia ſuſtulimus è medio, ſicut molliſſimam ceram ad noſtrum arbitrium formamus & fingimus. Itaque tum graves ſumus, tum ſubtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: ſic inſtitutam noſtram ſententiam ſequitur orationis genus, idque ad omnem rationem, & aurium voluptatem, & animorum motum mutatur & flectitur. *De orat.* l. 3. n. 176, 177.

ſumed

ſumed a quite new form, and, what has no example, attained almoſt inſtantly a ſupreme perfection in this way. For every body knows, that generally the progreſs of arts and ſciences is ſlow, and that they do not attain their final maturity but by degrees.

This was not the caſe in the matter of which we are ſpeaking, that is to ſay, the number and harmony of ſpeech. Cicero ſeized almoſt immediately the fine and the perfect, and introduced into his language, by the happy arrangement of his words, a ſweetneſs, grace and majeſty, which almoſt equalled it with the Greek; and with which the ear, of all who have the leaſt ſenſibility for ſound and harmony, is ſtill agreeably ſoothed. It is not ſurprizing therefore, that this great orator, to ſecure to his language the advantage he had acquired it, and to perpetuate the uſe and poſſeſſion of it, ſhould think it incumbent on him to treat this ſubject in all its extent. Accordingly he enters upon it with a vaſt enumeration of things, which cannot afford us any pleaſure now, to whom this is a foreign language, but which was extremely uſeful and important at the time he wrote it; and it is eaſy to perceive, that he has treated it with particular attention, and has employed the whole extent of his learning and capacity, to diſplay it in all its light. Accordingly, Quintilian * obſerves, that of all his works of rhetorick, this piece is the moſt elaborate.

* Cui (M. Tullio) neſcio an ulla pars hujus operis ſit magis elaborata. *Lib.* 9. *c.* 4.

The

The ſame ſervice has been done the French language; and, if I miſtake not, Balzac was the firſt who diſcerned himſelf, and made others diſcern, how ſuſceptible it is of the graces of number, harmony, and cadence. Since his time, this part of compoſition has been very much improved: Mr. Flechier particularly, and all our good writers, leave us nothing to deſire in this point. It is highly important to make youth attentive to it, and to accuſtom their ears to a lively and inſtantaneous diſcernment of what is ſweet and agreeable, or harſh and diſſonant in the diſpoſition of words. The treatiſe lately publiſhed by the Abbé Olivet, upon the proſody of the French tougue, may be of great uſe to this purpoſe.

I have already ſaid, that the three books *de Oratore* may be conſidered as the rhetorick of Cicero. And indeed he has included in it almoſt all the precepts of that art, not in the common didactick order of the ſchools, but in a more free manner, and one that ſeems leſs ſtudied; to which he has annexed reflections that infinitely exalt their value, and ſhew their juſt uſe.

II. The book intitled *the Orator*, does not give place to the former either in beauty or ſolidity. Cicero ſtates in it the idea of a perfect orator, not of one that ever was, but of ſuch an one as may be. He ſets a particular value upon this work, and ſeems to think of it with great ſatisfaction and complacency; and does not ſtick to own, that he employed the whole extent of his wit, and all the force of his judgment in compoſing it; which is ſaying a great deal.

deal. He explains himſelf to this effect in writing to a * friend, who had highly approved this work, and conſents that whatever judgment the publick formed of it, whether good or bad, ſhall determine the author's reputation. He adds, (which I mention for the ſake of our youth) that he ſhould be glad if young Lepta, who was his friend's ſon, begins ſo early to read works of that kind with ſome pleaſure: becauſe though his years did not admit his making all the improvement they were capable of affording, it was of ſome conſequence to him to be early affected with leſſons of that ſort.

III. The *Brutus* of Cicero, is a dialogue concerning the moſt famous Greek and Roman orators, who had appeared to his time: for he mentions none who were then alive, except Cæſar and Marcellus. This work was compoſed ſome time before the former, and perhaps the ſame year.

In the long enumeration contained in this book, wherein Cicero particularly remarks upon the ſtile of a great number of orators, there is an admirable variety of portraits and characters, which all relate to the ſame ſubject, without however reſembling each other in the leaſt. He interſperſes reflections, and a kind of di-

* Oratorem meum tantoperè à te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem ſuper ſuadeo, me, quicquid habuerim judicii, in illum librum contuliſſe. Qui ſi eſt talis, qualem tibi videri ſcribis; ego quoque aliquid ſum. Sin aliter, non recuſo quin, quantum de illo libro, tantundem de judicii mei fama detrahatur. Leptam noſtrum cupio delectari jam talibus ſcriptis. Etſi abeſt maturitas ætatis, jam tamen perſonare aures ejus hujuſmodi vocibus non eſt inutile. *Epiſt.* 19. l. 6. *ad Famil.*

greſſion,

greſſion, from time to time, which add to the value of the piece, and may be of great uſe in forming the orator.

IV. His treatiſe *upon the moſt perfect kind of Orator*, is very ſhort. Cicero maintains in it, that the Attick ſtile is far the moſt perfect, but that it includes the three different kinds of eloquence, and that the orator makes uſe of them as his ſubject requires. To convince thoſe of this who are of a different opinion, he tranſlated the celebrated orations of Æſchines againſt Demoſthenes, and of Demoſthenes againſt Æſchines. The work we now ſpeak of was only a kind of preface to that tranſlation, of which we cannot ſufficiently regret the loſs.

V. The topicks of Cicero contain the method of finding arguments by the means of certain terms, which characterize them, and are called *common places of Rhetorick*, or *of Logick*. We are indebted for the invention or perfection of this art to Ariſtotle. Cicero compoſed this treatiſe at the requeſt of Trebatius the lawyer, one of his friends, to explain that wrote by the philoſopher upon this ſubject. There is one thing remarkable in this work, which ſhews the genius, memory, and facility of Cicero in compoſing; this was, his not having that philoſopher's book, when he undertook to explain him. He was upon a voyage and at ſea, as he tells us himſelf in this book. He recalled to his remembrance Ariſtotle's work, explained it, and ſent what he had done to his friend. He muſt have known it perfectly well, and have had it very ſtrongly in his mind, to have worked upon it only from his memory.

Τόπος. *Locus.*

Topic. n. 5.

VI. The

VI. The *Partes Oratoriæ* are a very good rhetorick, diſpoſed in diviſions and ſubdiviſions of ſubjects (from whence it takes its title.) Its ſtile is very ſimple, but clear, ſuccinct and elegant, and well adapted to the capacity of beginners; ſo that, with the addition of examples, it might be uſed with ſucceſs, though Cicero did not think proper to annex any to it.

VII. THE BOOKS OF RHETORICK, or *De Inventione Oratoria*, are certainly Cicero's. Only the two firſt remain: the two others are loſt. I have already obſerved, that he compoſed them during his youth, and that he afterwards thought them unworthy his reputation. De orat. l. 1. n. 5.

The rhetorick to Herennius.

It is not eaſy to know who was the author of the four books of rhetorick inſcribed to *Herennius*, which we find in the front of Cicero's works. In the common editions the title ſays it was not known; but ſome of the learned aſcribe them to Cornificius. It is a rhetorick in form, of which the ſtile, though ſimple and familiar, is pure and Ciceronian; which has given ſome people reaſon to believe it a work of Cicero's: but this opinion admits of great difficulties.

SENECA THE RHETORICIAN.

Seneca, of whom we ſpeak in this place, was born at Corduba in Spain, about the 700th year of the city of Rome, fifty three years before Jeſus Chriſt. His ſirname was *Marcus*. He came to ſettle at Rome in the reign of Au-

guſtus, whither he brought with him his wife *Helvia*, and three ſons. The firſt called *Mela*, was the father of the poet Lucan; the philoſopher's name was *Lucius*; and the third ſon's *Novatus*: but this laſt being adopted into another family, he took the name of his father by adoption *Junius Gallio*. Mention is made of him in the *acts of the apoſtles*.

Acts xviii. 12.

Seneca the father collected from more than an hundred authors, as well Greeks as Romans, whatever was moſt remarkable, that they had eieither ſaid or thought upon the different ſubjects they had treated in emulation of each other, by way of exerciſing their eloquence according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. Of the ten books of *Controverſies* or *Diſputations*, contained in this collection, ſcarce five remain, and thoſe very defective. To the books of controverſies, one of deliberations is prefixed, though it is known, that Seneca did not publiſh it till after the former.

Theſe works of Seneca's give Mr. Gibert occaſion to explain with great order and evidence the eſteem and uſe in which *Declaiming* was of old. I ſhall inſert in this place that little tract almoſt entirely; which will be of great ſervice for the underſtanding of what will be ſaid in the ſequel, upon the manner in which the rhetoricians formed young perſons for eloquence.

Declamation is a word which occurs in * *Horace*, and ſtill more in † *Juvenal*: though it

* Trojani belli ſcriptorem ——
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneſte relegi.
Hor. Ep. 1. lib. 2.

† Ut pueris placeas, & declamatio fias.
Juven. Sat. 10.

was

was * not known at Rome before Cicero and Calvus. The compoſitions were ſo called, by which eloquence was exerciſed, and of which the ſubjects, true or feigned, were ſometimes in the deliberative, ſometimes in the judiciary, and ſeldom in the demonſtrative kind. The diſcourſes made upon theſe ſubjects were an image of what paſſed in the publick councils and at the bar.

Declaiming was the method taken by † Cicero whilſt young to become an orator, which at that time he practiſed in Greek. He continued to uſe it, when more advanced in years, but in Latin. He exerciſed himſelf in the ſame manner, even when the troubles of the ſtate had obliged him to abandon the bar. At that time he repeated to Caſſius and Dolabella, or others, the harangues of this kind, which he had only compoſed by way of exerciſe. This was the common method of all who aſpired at eloquence, or were willing to acquire perfection in it; that is to ſay, the principal perſons of the ſtate. They applied themſelves to it under the direction of Cicero, and improved themſelves by his advice. ‖ *Hirtius and Dolabella*, ſays Cicero, *come often to declaim at my houſe, and I as often go to ſup with them.* They came to

Cic. l. 7. Epiſt. 33. ad Famil. Id. de clar. Orat. n. 310.

* Apud nullum auctorem antiquum, ante ipſum Ciceronem & Calvum, inveniri poteſt. *Senec. Coutrov.* l. 1.

† Cicero ad Præturam uſque græcè declamavit, latinè verò ſenior quoque. *Sueton. de clar. Rhet.*

‖ Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi diſcipulos habeo, cœnandi magiſtros. Puto enim te audiſſe —— illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cœnitare. *Epiſt.* 16. l. 9.

him either to repeat or correct their diſcourſes; after which he went home with them to ſupper, their tables being better than his own.

Suet. de clar. Rhet. Pompey the Great applied himſelf alſo very cloſely to declamation a little before the civil wars, to enable himſelf to anſwer Curio, who had ſold his talent to Cæſar's intereſts, and gave the oppoſite party great diſquiet. Mark Antony did the ſame to reply to Cicero; and Octavius, even at the ſiege of Modena, did not omit this exerciſe. We muſt remember, that at Rome, whether in the ſenate or before the people, eloquence generally determined the moſt important affairs, and thereby became abſolutely neceſſary to thoſe who aſpired at being powerful in them.

Epiſt. 21. l. 16. ad Famil. I omit Cicero's ſon Marcus, who exerciſed himſelf alſo both in Greek and Latin, but not with the ſame ſucceſs.

Demetrius Phalereus is ſaid to have been the inventor of declamation: and Plotius Gallus, of whom we have ſpoken above, was the firſt who introduced the uſe of it in the Latin tongue.

It was, according to this idea of declamation, that all the lovers of eloquence, whether Greeks or Romans, aſſembled in the houſes of perſons eminent in the ſame way; ſuch for inſtance as Seneca, where they pronounced diſcourſes upon ſubjects before agreed upon. Our author had the greateſt memory conceivable. He cites ſeveral examples of a like nature. Cyneas, Pyrrhus's ambaſſador, having had audience of the ſenate upon his arrival, the next day ſaluted all the ſenators, and people who had been preſent at it in great numbers by their names.

Senec. in Præf. Controv.

names. A certain perſon having heard a poem repeated, to ſurprize the author of it, pretended it was his work, and to prove it, repeated the whole without heſitating, which the author could not do himſelf. Hortenſius, in conſequence of a challenge, ſtayed an whole day at a ſale of goods by auction, and at night repeated, in the order they were ſold, without the leaſt miſtake, the names of the ſeveral moveables, and of the perſons that bought them. Seneca's memory was ſcarce leſs admirable. He ſays, that in his youth he repeated two thouſand words after having only heard them once over; and that too in the ſame order they had been ſpoke. It was by this wonderful talent, whatever was moſt curious in all the declamations he had ever heard, was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon his mind, that long after, in a very advanced age, he was capable of recalling it to his remembrance, though conſiſting of ſo many detached paſſages, and reduced them to writing for the uſe of his ſons, and to tranſmit them to poſterity.

I ſhall have occaſion, before I conclude this article, to explain in what manner declamation conduced to occaſion the decay and corruption of the taſte for true eloquence.

Dialogue upon the orators, or upon the cauſes of the corruption of eloquence.

The author of this work is unknown. Some aſcribe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, but without much foundation. What we may be aſſured of is, that it is a proof of his wit and capacity whoever he was, and deſerves a place

amongſt the beſt works after the Auguſtan age, from the purity and beauty of which it muſt however be allowed to be very remote. There are very fine paſſages in it. What he ſays by way of panegyrick upon the profeſſion of pleaders, ſeems to me of this kind. It is proper to remind the reader, that it is an heathen who ſpeaks.

" * The pleaſure which ariſes from elo-
" quence, ſays he, is not rapid and momen-

* Ad voluptatem oratoriæ eloquentiæ tranſeo, cujus jucunditas non uno aliove momento, ſed omnibus prope diebus, & prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero & ingenuo animo, & ad voluptates honeſtas nato, quam videre plenam ſemper & frequentem domum concurſu ſplendiſſimorum hominum? Idque ſcire non pecuniæ, non orbitati, neque officii alicujus adminiſtrationi, ſed ſibi ipſi dari! Illos quinimo orbos, & locupletes, & potentes, venire plerumque ad juvenem & pauperem, ut aut ſua, aut amicorum diſcrimina commendent. Ulla-ne tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam ſpectare homines veteres, & ſenes, & totius urbis gratia ſubnixos, in ſumma rerum omnium abundantia confitentes, id quod optimum ſit ſe non habere? Jam vero qui rogatorum comitatus & egreſſus! quæ in publico ſpecies! quæ in judiciis veneratio! quod gaudium conſurgendi aſſiſtendique inter tacentes, in unum converſos! coire populum, & circumfundi coram, & accipere affectum quemcumque orator induerit. Vulgata dicentium gaudia, & imperitorum quoque oculis expoſita percenſeo. Illa ſecretiora, & tantùm ipſis orantibus nota, majora ſunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque affert orationem, eſt quoddam, ſicut ipſius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus & conſtantia. Sive novam & recentem curam non ſine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipſa ſolicitudo commendat eventum, & lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciæ, atque ipſius temeritatis vel præcipua jucunditas eſt. Nam ingenio quoque, ſicut in agro, quanquam alia diu ſerantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quæ ſua ſponte naſcuntur. *Cap.* 6.

" tary ;

" tary; but the growth of every day, and al-
" moſt every hour. And indeed, what can be
" more grateful to an ingenuous mind, that has
" a taſte for exalted ſatisfaction, than to ſee his
" houſe continually thronged by crowds of the
" moſt conſiderable perſons in a city? To be
" conſcious that it is not to his riches, office,
" or authority, but to his perſon that they come
" to pay this honour? The greateſt wealth,
" the moſt ſplendid dignities, have they any
" thing ſo delightful and affecting, as the vo-
" luntary homage, which perſons, equally to
" be reſpected for their birth and age, come
" to render to the merit and knowledge
" of an advocate, though often young, and
" ſometimes deſtitute of the goods of fortune,
" in imploring the aid of his eloquence either
" for themſelves or their friends, and confeſ-
" ſing, in the midſt of the affluence with which
" they are ſurrounded, that they are ſtill in
" want of what is moſt valuable and excellent?
" What ſhall I ſay of the officious zeal of the
" citizens to attend him whenever he goes a-
" broad, or returns to his houſe? Of the nu-
" merous audiences in which all eyes are fixed
" on him alone, whilſt a profound ſilence reigns
" univerſally, with no other interruption but
" ſtarts of admiration and applauſes? In fine,
" of that abſolute power which he has over
" mens minds, by inſpiring them with ſuch
" ſentiments as he pleaſes? Nothing is more
" glorious and exalted than what I have now
" ſaid. But there is ſtill another pleaſure more
" intenſe and affecting, known only to the o-
" rator himſelf. If he pronounces a diſcourſe,
" that he has had time to ſtudy and poliſh at

" leiſure, his joy as well as diction has ſome-
" thing more ſolid, and more aſſured in it. If
" he has only ſome few moments reflection al-
" lowed him to prepare himſelf for his cauſe,
" the very anxiety he feels upon that account,
" makes the ſucceſs more grateful to him, and
" exalts the pleaſure it gives him. But what
" ſtill ſooths him more agreeably, is the ſuc-
" ceſs of an unpremeditated diſcourſe, ventu-
" red extemporaneouſly. For the productions
" of the mind are like thoſe of the earth.
" The fruits, which coſt no trouble, and grow
" ſpontaneouſly, are more grateful than thoſe
" we are obliged to purchaſe with abundance
" of pains and cultivation."

We cannot, in my opinion, deny that there are in this deſcription a great many ingenious and ſolid thoughts, ſtrong and emphatical expreſſions, and lively and eloquent turns. Perhaps there is too much wit and ſhining conceit in it: but that was the fault of the age.

I ſhall add here another very fine paſſage from the ſame author, in which he aſcribes the principal cauſes of the corruption of eloquence to the bad education of children.

" Who * does not know, that what has oc-
" caſioned eloquence and the other arts to de-
" generate

* Quis ignorat & eloquentiam & ceteras artes deſciviſſe ab iſta vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, ſed deſidia juventutis, & negligentia parentum, & inſcientia præcipientium, & oblivione moris antiqui? quæ mala primùm in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fuſa, jam in provincias manant——

Jam primùm ſuus cuique filius, ex caſta parente natus, non in cella emptæ nutricis, ſed gremio at ſinu matris educabatur; cujus præcipua laus erat, tueri domum, & inſervire liberis. Eligebatur autem

" generate from their antient perfection, is not
" the want of genius, but the indolence into
" which youth are fallen, the negligence of
" parents in the education of their children,
" the ignorance of the maſters employed to in-
" ſtruct them, in fine, the oblivion and con-
" tempt of the taſte of the antients. Theſe
" evils, which had their riſe at Rome, have
" diſperſed themſelves from the city into the
" country of Italy, and infected all the pro-
" vinces.——

" Of old, in every houſe, it was the cuſtom
" for a child born of an ingenuous mother, not
" to be ſent to the cottage of a nurſe bought a-
" mongſt ſlaves, but to be nurtured and edu-
" cated in the boſom of her who bore him,
" whoſe merit and praiſe it was to take care of
" her houſe and children. Some female rela-
" tion in years, and of known virtue and pro-
" bity, was choſen to have the care of all the
" children of the family, in whoſe preſence
" nothing contrary to decency and good man-
" ners was ſuffered to be ſpoken or done with

autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis ſpectatiſque moribus omnis cujuſpiam familiæ ſuboles committebatur: coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhoneſtum factu videretur. Ac non ſtudia modo curaſque, ſed remiſſiones etiam luſuſque puerorum, ſanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, ſi Aureliam Cæſaris, ſic Attiam Auguſti matrem præfuiſſe educationibus, ac produxiſſe principes, liberos accepimus. Quæ diſciplina ac ſeveritas eò pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra & nullis pravitatibus decorta uniuſcujuſque natura, toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas: &, ſive ad rem militarem, ſive ad juris ſcientiam, ſive ad eloquentiæ ſtudium inclinaſſet, id ſolum ageret, id univerſum hauriret. *Cap.* 28.

" impu-

" impunity. She found the means to unite not
" only their ſtudies and application, but even
" their play and recreations, with a certain
" air of modeſty and reſerve, that tempered
" their ardour and vivacity. It is thus we find
" that Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi,
" Aurelia of Cæſar, and Attia of Auguſtus,
" governed their children, and made them ca-
" pable of appearing in the world with ſplen-
" dour. The view of this ſtrict and manly e-
" ducation was to prepare the minds of chil-
" dren, by preſerving them in all their natural
" purity and integrity, and preventing their
" being infected with any bad principle, to em-
" brace the ſtudy of arts and ſcience with ar-
" dour; and whether they choſe the profeſſion
" of arms, or applied themſelves to the laws
" or eloquence, that they might addict them-
" ſelves ſolely to their profeſſion, and the at-
" tainment of a perfection in that alone.

" But * in theſe days, no ſooner is a child
" born, but he is given to ſome Greek ſlave,

* At nunc natus infans delegatur Græculæ alicui ancillæ, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus ſervis plerumque viliſſimus, nec cuiquam ſerio miniſterio accommodatus. Horam fabulis & erroribus teneri ſtatim & rudes animi imbuuntur. Nec quiſquam in tota domo penſum habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat, aut faciat: quando etiam ipſi parentes nec probitati neque modeſtiæ parvulos aſſuefaciunt, ſed laſciviæ & libertati: per quæ paulatim impudentia irrepit, & ſui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria & peculiaria hujus urbis vitia pœne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, hiſtrionalis favor, & gladiatorum equorumque ſtudia. Quibus occupatus & obſeſſus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotumquemque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adoleſcentulorum ſermones excipimus, ſi quando auditoria intravimus? *Cap.* 29.

" with

" with a ſervant or two more to attend her, of
" the meaneſt and moſt uſeleſs ſort in the fa-
" mily. At this tender age, ſuſceptible of all
" impreſſions, he hears nothing but the frivo-
" lous, and often looſe and abandoned ſtories of
" the loweſt domeſticks. None of them have
" the leaſt regard for what they ſay or do be-
" fore their young maſter. And indeed, what
" attention of that kind can be expected from
" them, whilſt the parents themſelves accuſtom
" their children not to modeſty and good
" manners, but to every kind of freedom and
" licentiouſneſs: from whence enſues by de-
" grees an air of declared impudence, void of
" regard either for themſelves or others. There
" are, beſides this, certain vices peculiar to this
" city, which ſeem almoſt to have been con-
" ceived with them in their mothers womb:
" ſuch are the taſte for theatrical ſhews, gladia-
" tors, and chariot-races. Are not theſe al-
" moſt the only ſubjects of converſation a-
" mongſt young people, and indeed all com-
" panies? Is it probable, that a mind intent
" upon, and in a manner beſieged by theſe
" trifling amuſements, ſhould be very capable
" of applying to ſerious ſtudies?

Theſe two paſſages ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of this work, and to make him regret that it is not come down entire to us.

This dialogue may be divided into three parts. The firſt introduces an advocate and a poet contending upon the preheminence of their reſpective arts, and enlarging in praiſe of them, the one of eloquence, and the other of poetry. The ſecond part is a ſpeech of the ſame advocate, whom the author calls Aper, in favour of

of the orators of his times againſt the antients. He lived in the reign of Veſpaſian, and was at the head of the bar. The third part of the work is an enquiry into the cauſes of the fall or corruption of eloquence. The ſpeakers are Meſſala, Secundus, Maternus, and Aper. All that Secundus, and part of what Maternus, ſaid, is loſt, which makes a great chaſm in the work, without mentioning ſeveral other defective paſſages.

QUINTILIAN: (*Marcus Fabius Quintilianus.*)

I ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon Quintilian to three heads: Firſt I ſhall relate what is known of his hiſtory: Secondly, I ſhall ſpeak of his work, and give the plan of it: And laſtly, I ſhall explain the method of inſtructing youth and teaching rhetorick, as practiſed in his time.

I. *What is known of Quintilian's hiſtory.*

It appears that Quintilian was born in the ſecond year of the emperor Claudius, which is the forty ſecond of Jeſus Chriſt. Mr. Dodwell conjectures this in his annals upon Quintilian, who is my guide in chronology as to what relates to the birth, life and employments of our rhetorician, which he has diſpoſed in a very clear and probable order.

The place of his birth is diſputed. Many ſay that he was a native of Calagurris, a city of Spain, upon the Heber, now called *Calahorra*.

Others

Others believe, with ſufficient foundation, that he was born at Rome.

It is not certainly known whether he was the ſon or grandſon of the orator Fabius, mentioned by Seneca the father, and placed by him in the number of thoſe orators, whoſe reputation dies with them. Senec. Controv. l. 5. in præf.

Quintilian without doubt frequented the ſchools of the rhetoricians at Rome, in which youth were taught eloquence. He uſed another more effectual method for the attainment of it, which was to make himſelf the diſciple of the orators of the greateſt reputation. Domitius Afer held at that time the firſt rank amongſt them. Quintilian did not content himſelf with hearing him plead at the bar; he often viſited him; and that venerable old man, though the admiration of the age he lived in, did not diſdain to converſe with a youth, in whom he obſerved great and very promiſing talents. This important ſervice, thoſe who are grown old with glory in this illuſtrious profeſſion, have in their power to render their juniors, eſpecially when they have quitted the bar for the ſake of retirement. Their * houſes may then become a kind of publick ſchools for the youth, who aſpire at excelling in eloquence, and who may addreſs themſelves to them, to be informed by what means they muſt ſucceed. Quintilian knew how to improve Afer's good-will to his own advantage; and it ap-

* Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, & veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit. quaſi eloquentiæ parens. *Quinti!.* l. 12. c. 11.

pears,

pears, by the queſtions he propoſed to him, that he had in view the forming of his taſte and judgment by theſe converſations. He * aſked him one day which of the poets he thought came neareſt Homer. *Virgil*, ſays Afer, *is the ſecond, but much nearer the firſt than the third.* He had the grief to ſee this great man, who had ſo long done honour to the bar, ſurvive his own reputation, from not having known how to apply the wiſe advice of † Horace, and from having choſe rather to ſink under the weight of his function than retire, as he is reproached; *malle eum deficere, quàm deſinere.* Domitius Afer died the 59th year of the chriſtian Æra, the ſame year Juvenal was born.

Quintil. l. 12. c. 11.

Ant. J. C. 61. Two years after, Nero ſent Galba governor into Hiſpania Tarraconenſis. It is believed that Quintilian followed him thither, and that after having taught rhetorick, and exerciſed the profeſſion of an advocate during upwards of ſeven years, he returned to Rome with him.

Ant. J. C. 68. It was about the end of this year that Galba was declared emperor, and Quintilian opened a ſchool of rhetorick at Rome. He was the firſt, who taught it there by publick authority, and with a ſalary from the ſtate; for which he was

* Utar verbis iiſdem quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero credere maximè accedere; Secundus, inquit, eſt Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Solve ſeneſcentem mature ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & illa ducat.
Hor. Ep. 1. l. 1.

Prudent diſmiſs the courſer from the race,
Leſt age and broken wind his youth diſgrace.

indebted

indebted to Veſpaſian. For, according to * Sue- Sueton. in Veſp. c. 18
tonius, that prince was the firſt that aſſigned the rhetoricians, both Greeks and Romans, penſions out of the publick treaſury, to the amount of twelve thouſand five hundred livres. *About 600 l. ſterling.* Before this eſtabliſhment there were maſters who taught it without being authorized by the publick. Beſides the penſions received by theſe rhetoricians from the ſtate, the fathers † paid a ſum for the inſtruction of their children, which Juvenal thought very ſmall in compariſon with thoſe they expended on trivial occaſions. For, according to him, nothing coſt a father leſs than his ſon, though he regretted every thing expended on his education: *Res nulla minoris Conſtabit patri quam filius.* This ſum amounted to two hundred and fifty livres: *Duo ſeſtercia.* Quintilian was publick profeſſor of rhetorick twenty years with univerſal applauſe.

He exerciſed at the ſame time, and with the ſame ſucceſs, the function of an advocate, and acquired alſo great reputation at the bar. When Quint. l. 4. c. 2.
the different parts of a cauſe were diſtributed to different pleaders, as was the cuſtom of old, he was generally choſen to ſtate or open the matter of it, which requires great method and perſpicuity. He excelled alſo in the art of moving the paſſions; and he ‖ confeſſes with that Id. l. 6. c. 2.

* Primus è fiſco Latinis Græciſque rhetoribus annua centena conſtituit.

† Hos inter ſumptus ſeſtertia Quintiliano
Ut multum duo ſufficient. Res nulla minoris
Conſtabit patri quàm filius. *Juv.* Sat. 7. l. 3.

‖ Hæc diſſimulanda mihi non fuerunt, quibus ipſe, quantuſcumque ſum aut fui, (nam perveniſſe me ad aliquod nomen ingenii credo) frequenter motus ſum, ut me non lacrymæ ſolùm deprehenderint, ſed pallor, & vero ſimilis dolor. *Quintil.*

modeſt

modeſt freedom natural to him, that he was often ſeen in pleading, not only to ſhed tears, but to change countenance, turn pale, and expreſs all the ſigns of the moſt lively and ſincere affliction. He does not deny but it was to this talent that he owed his reputation at the bar. And indeed it is chiefly by this character, that an orator diſtinguiſhes himſelf, and conciliates all the ſuffrages in his favour.

We ſhall ſoon ſee how well qualified he was to inſtruct youth, and in what manner he acquired the love and eſteem of every body on that account. Amongſt the many illuſtrious diſciples that frequented his ſchool, Pliny the younger did him moſt honour, by the beauty of his genius, the elegance and ſolidity of his ſtile, the admirable ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his liberality to men of learning, and his peculiar warmth of gratitude for his maſter, of which he afterwards gave him a moſt illuſtrious proof.

After having devoted entirely twenty years to the inſtruction of youth in the ſchool, and and the defence of clients at the bar, he obtained the emperor Domitian's permiſſion to quit both thoſe equally uſeful and laborious employments. Inſtructed by the ſad example of his maſter Domitius Afer, he believed it proper to think of a retreat, before it became abſolutely neceſſary, and that he could not put a more graceful period to his labours, than by renouncing them at a time, when he ſhould be regretted: *Honeſtiſſimum finem putabamus, deſinere dum deſideraremur*; whereas Domitius choſe rather to ſink under the weight of his profeſſion, than to lay it down. It was upon this occaſion

Quin. l. 12. c. 11.

occaſion that he gives wiſe advice to his brethren the pleaders. * *The orator*, ſays he, *would he take my opinion, would ſound a retreat, before he fell into the ſnares of age, and gain the port, whilſt his veſſel was ſound and in good condition.*

Quintilian, however, at that time was only ſix or ſeven and forty years old, a florid and robuſt time of life. Perhaps his long application had began to impair his health. However that were, his was not a leiſure of indolence and ſloth, but of activity and ardour, ſo that he became in ſome meaſure ſtill more uſeful to the publick than he had ever been by all his paſt labours. For indeed the latter were confined within the narrow bounds of a certain number of perſons and years; whereas the works, which were the fruit of his retirement, have inſtructed all ages: and we may ſay, that Quintilian's ſchool has continued the ſchool of mankind from his death, and ſtill continues to reſound with the admirable precepts he has left us upon eloquence. Ant. J. C. 88.

He began by compoſing a treatiſe *upon the cauſes of the corruption of eloquence*, the loſs of which can never be ſufficiently regretted. It undoubtedly is not the piece ſtill extant under the title of *a dialogue upon the orators*. Ant. J. C. 89.

At the time when he began this work, he loſt the youngeſt of his two ſons only five years of age: and ſome months after a ſudden death deprived him of his wife, who was only nineteen years old, and even ſomething leſs. Quintil. in Proœm. l. 6.

* Antequam in has ætatis veniat inſidias, receptui canet, & in portum integrâ navi perveniet. *Quint.* l. 12. c. 11.

Ant. J. C. 90. Some time after, at the ſollicitation of his friends, he began his great work, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, conſiſting of twelve books: of which I ſhall give an account in the ſequel.

Ant. J. C. 91. Quintil. in Præm l. 4. Sueton. in Domit. c. 15. He had finiſhed the three firſt books of it, when the emperor Domitian committed the two young princes, his great nephews, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſors, to his care. They were the grandſons of his ſiſter Domitilla, whoſe daughter named alſo Domitilla, had married Flavius Clemens the emperor's couſin-german, by whom ſhe had thoſe two princes. This was a new motive to him for redoubling his application to compleat his work. His own words deſerve repeating, the paſſage being remarkable. " * Hitherto ", ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Victorinus, to whom he dedicates

* Adhuc velut ſtudia inter nos conferebamus; &, ſi parum noſtra inſtitutio probaretur à ceteris, contenti fore domeſtico uſu videbamur, ut tui meique filii diſciplinam formare, ſatis putaremus. Cum verò mihi Domitianus Auguſtus ſororis ſuæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non ſatis honorem judiciorum cœleſtium intelligam, niſi ex hoc quoque oneris, magnitudinem metiar. Quis enim mihi aut mores excolendi ſit modus, ut eos non immeritò probaverit ſanctiſſimus Cenſor? aut ſtudia, ne fefelliſſe in his videar Principem, ut in omnibus, ita in eloquentia quoque eminentiſſimum? Quod ſi nemo miratur Poëtas maximos ſæpe feciſſe, ut non ſolum initiis operum ſuorum Muſas invocarent, ſed provecti quoque longiùs, cum ad aliquem graviorem locum veniſſent, repeterent vota, & velut nova precatione uterentur: mihi quoque profectò poterit ignoſci, ſi, quod initio, cum primum hanc materiam inchoavi, non fecerim, nunc omnes in auxilium deos, ipſumque imprimis, quo neque præſentiùs aliud, neque ſtudiis magis propitium numen eſt, invocem; ut, quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aſpiret, dexterque ac volens adſit, & me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.

this

this piece, " I wrote only for you and me; " and confining thoſe inſtructions to our own " houſes, when the publick did not think fit " to approve them, I thought my ſelf too " happy that they might be uſeful to your ſon " and mine; but ſince the emperor has vouch- " ſafed to charge me with the education of his " nephews, ſhould I eſteem as I ought the " approbation of a God, and know the value " of the honour he has conferred upon me, " if I did not meaſure the greatneſs of my un- " dertaking by that idea. And indeed, in " whatever manner I conſider it, whether in " regard to manners, or on the ſide of know- " ledge and art, what ought I not to do, to " deſerve the eſteem of ſo ſacred a cenſor; a " prince, in whoſe perſon ſupreme eloquence " is united with ſupreme power? If then we " are not ſurprized to ſee the moſt excellent po- " ets, not only invoke the muſes at the begin- " ning of their works, but again implore their " aſſiſtance, whenever in the courſe of it " ſome new important object ariſes to be treat- " ed; with how much greater reaſon ought I " to be pardoned, if what I did not at firſt I " now do, and call all the gods to my aid, " particularly him, under whoſe auſpices I " write from henceforth, and who, more than " all the reſt, preſides over ſtudy and ſcience? " May he then be propitious to me; and pro- " portioning his graces to the high idea he hath " given of me, in a choice ſo glorious and " ſo difficult to ſuſtain, may he inſpire my " mind with the force and elevation it wants, " and render me ſuch as he hath believed me. " *Et me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat.*"

It muſt be confeſſed, that there is in this compliment abundance of wit, loftineſs and grandeur, eſpecially in the thought with which it concludes: *And render me ſuch as he hath believed me.* But is it poſſible to carry flattery and impiety to a greater height, than to treat a prince as a God, who was a monſter of vice and cruelty. Nor am I even ſure whether the laſt thought be ſo juſt as it is ſhining: *And render me ſuch as he has believed me.* He was not ſuch then in reality: And how came this pretended god to believe he was? Again, if inſtead of extolling the regularity and purity of his manners, he had contented himſelf with enlarging upon his eloquence and the other talents of the mind upon which he valued himſelf, the flattery had been leſs odious. He praiſes him in another place in the ſame manner, where he prefers him above all other poets; at which time it is very likely, that the conſulary ornaments were conferred upon Quintilian.

Lib. 10. c. 1.

The care of the young princes education, with which Quintilian was charged, did not hinder him from working upon his book, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ.* His regard for his only ſurviving ſon, whoſe happy genius and diſpoſition merited his whole tenderneſs and attention, was a powerful motive with him for haſtening that work, which he conſidered as the moſt valuable part of the inheritance he ſhould leave him; in order, ſays he himſelf, that if any unforeſeen accident ſhould deprive that dear child of his father, he might, even after his death, ſerve him as a guide and præceptor.

Quintil in Præm. l. 6.

Con-

Continually filled therefore with the thought and apprehenſion of his mortality, he laboured night and day upon his work; and had already finiſhed the fifth book of it, when an early death robbed him of that darling child, in whom his whole joy and conſolation were centered. This was to him, after the loſs he had already ſuſtained of his youngeſt ſon, a new ſtroke of thunder, that entirely overwhelmed him with anguiſh and affliction. His grief, or rather deſpair, vented itſelf in complaints and reproaches againſt the gods themſelves, whom he loudly accuſed of injuſtice and cruelty; declaring, that it was plain, after ſo cruel and and unjuſt a treatment, which neither himſelf nor his children had deſerved, that there was no providence to ſuperintend affairs below. Ant. J. C. 92.

Diſcourſes of this kind ſhew in a clear light, what even the moſt perfect probity of the Pagans was: for I do not know whether all antiquity can inſtance one man of a more humane, reaſonable, wiſe and virtuous character than Quintilian, according to the rules of paganiſm. His books abound with excellent maxims upon the education of children, upon the care which parents ought to take to preſerve them from the dangers and corruption of the world, upon the attention maſters ought to have that the precious depoſite of innocence remain unblemiſhed in them, upon the generous diſintereſtedneſs incumbent upon perſons in power; and laſtly, upon the zeal and love for juſtice and the publick good.

His grief had been very juſt, if attended with moderation: for never child deſerved more to be regretted than this. Beſides the graces of nature and exteriour attributes, a charming tone of voice, an amiable phyſiognomy, with a ſurprizing facility in pronouncing the Greek and Roman languages, as if he had been born to excel equally in them both; he had the moſt happy diſpoſition that could be deſired for the ſciences, united with a taſte and inclination for ſtudy that aſtoniſhed his teachers. But the qualities of his heart were ſtill more extraordinary than thoſe of his head. Quintilian, who had known abundance of youth, declares with an oath, that he had never ſeen ſo much probity of inclination, goodneſs of ſoul, ſweetneſs of temper, and elegance of mind, as in this dear child. In an illneſs of eight months continuance he ſhewed an evenneſs and conſtancy of mind, that his phyſicians could never ſufficiently admire, oppoſing fears and pains with ſurprizing fortitude, and, upon the point of expiring, conſoling his father, and endeavouring to prevent his tears. What a misfortune was it that ſo many fine qualities were loſt! But what a ſhame and reproach were it for chriſtian children to be leſs virtuous!

After having abandoned his ſtudies for ſome time, Quintilian, having recovered himſelf a little, reſumed his work; for which he ſays, the publick ought to have the more favourable opinion of him, as from thenceforth he laboured no longer for himſelf; his writings, as well as fortune, being to paſs away to ſtrangers.

He

He at length finiſhed his plan in twelve books. It had coſt him little more than two years: of which beſides he had employed a great part not in actually compoſing, but in preparing, and collecting all the matter of which it was to conſiſt, by the peruſal of abundance of authors, who had treated the ſame ſubject. And we have ſeen how many afflictions and melancholy affairs he had upon his hands during that time. It is aſtoniſhing and almoſt incredible, how ſo perfect a work could be compoſed in ſo ſhort a ſpace. His * deſign was to follow the advice of Horace, who, in his art of poetry, recommends to authors the not being in too much haſte to publiſh their writings. Accordingly he kept his by him, in order to reviſe them at his leiſure with cooler thought, to give time to the firſt emotions of ſelf-love, and the complacency people always have for their own productions to cool; and to examine them no longer with the fond prepoſſeſſion of an author, but with the temper and impartiality of a reader. He could not long reſiſt the eager deſire of the publick to have his works, and was in a manner reduced to abandon them to it, contenting himſelf with wiſhing them ſucceſs, and recommending to his bookſeller to take great care that they were exact and correct. It muſt have been at leaſt an year before they could be in a condition to appear. We are obliged to the Abbé Gedoyn for having enabled the publick to judge of

Ant. J. C. 93. Epiſt ad Tryph. bibliop.

* Uſus deinde Horatii conſilio, qui in arte poëtica ſuadet, ne præcipitetur editio, *nonúmque prematur in annum*; dabam iis otium, ut refrigerato inventionis amore, diligentiùs repetitos tanquam lector perpenderem.

the merit of this author, by the tranſlation he has publiſhed of his works.

Ant. J. C. 94. Mr. Dodwell believes, it was about this time that Quintilian, being no longer employed in compoſing his great work, which he had lately finiſhed, thought of a ſecond * marriage, and accordingly eſpouſed the grandaughter of Tutilius, as Pliny the younger calls him. He had a daughter by her about the end of this year.

Ant. J. C. 95. Domitian, notwithſtanding his pretended divinity, was killed in his palace by Stephanus, who had put himſelf at the head of the conſpirators. That emperour had cauſed Flavius Clemens, then conſul, to be put to death, and had baniſhed his niece Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens. He had alſo baniſhed St. Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of one of the ſame conſul's ſiſters. All theſe perſons ſuffered for the faith in Jeſus Chriſt. The death of Clemens haſtened that of Domitian, either through the horror and fear it gave every body, or becauſe it animated Stephanus againſt him, who was the freedman and ſteward of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, of whoſe eſtate he was obliged to give an account, and was accuſed of malverſation in that reſpect. Nerva ſucceeded Domitian, and reigned only ſixteen months and ſome days. Trajan, whom he had adopted, was his ſucceſſor, and reigned twenty years.

Ant. J. C. 96.

Nothing is known of Quintilian from the death of Domitian, except the marriage of his daughter, admitting he had one. When ſhe was of age to marry, he gave her to Nonius

* *This ſecond marriage is not certain, but ſeems very probable.*

Celer,

Celer. Pliny ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion by a generoſity and gratitude, which in my opinion do him more honour than his writings, excellent as they are. He had ſtudied eloquence under Quintilian. The works he has left us ſufficiently prove that he was a diſciple worthy of ſo great a maſter: but the following fact no leſs denotes the goodneſs of his heart, and the remembrance he conſtantly retained of the ſervices he had received from him. As ſoon as he knew that Quintilian intended to marry his daughter, he thought it incumbent on him to expreſs his gratitude to his maſter by a ſmall preſent. The difficulty was to make him accept it. He wrote him a letter upon that head, that can never be ſufficiently admired for its art and delicacy, of which I ſhall inſert a tranſlation in this place.

Pliny's letter to Quintilian.

" * Though the moderation of your mind " is very great, and you have educated your " daughter as becomes Quintilian's daughter, " and the grandaughter of Tutilius: however,

* Quamvis & ipſe ſis continentiſſimus, & filiam tuam ita inſtitueris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutilii neptem: cum tamen ſit nuptura honeſtiſſimo viro Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum neceſſitatem quandam nitoris imponit; debet, ſecundum conditiones mariti, veſte, comitatu augeri: quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen & inſtruitur. Te porro animo beatiſſimum, modicum facultatibus ſcio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vendico, &, tanquam parens alter puellæ noſtræ, confero quinquaginta millia nummûm: plus collaturus, niſi à verecundia tua ſola mediocritate munuſculi impetrari poſſe confiderem, ne recuſares. Vale. *Ep.* 32. l. 6.

" as

" as ſhe is about to marry Nonius Celer, a per-
" ſon of diſtinction, whoſe employments in the
" ſtate impoſe a kind of neceſſity upon him
" of appearing with ſplendor, it is proper, that
" ſhe ſhould adapt her dreſs and equipage to
" the rank of her huſband. Theſe exterior
" things indeed add nothing to our dignity,
" they however expreſs and adorn it. I know
" how very rich you are in the goods of the
" mind, and that you are much leſs ſo in
" thoſe of fortune than you ought to be. Let
" me claim therefore a part in your obliga-
" tions, and as another father give our dear
" daughter fifty thouſand ſeſtertia, (12500 li-
About 600 l. Sterling. " vres) to which I ſhould add, if I was not
" aſſured, that the mediocrity of the preſent is
" the ſole means to prevail upon your modeſty
" to accept it." *Adieu.*

This letter of Pliny's has one circumſtance in it very much for Quintilian's honour: that after having publickly employed twenty years with ſurprizing reputation and ſucceſs, as well in inſtructing youth as pleading at the bar; after having long reſided in the court with young princes, the education of whom ought to have given him, and undoubtedly did give him, great credit with the emperor, he had made no great fortune, and had always remained in a laudable mediocrity. A fine example, but unhappily very ſeldom imitated!

Satyr 7. l. 3. Juvenal however intimates, that Quintilian was very rich, and that he had a conſiderable number of foreſts, from whence, no doubt, aroſe a very great revenue.

Unde

Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet ſaltus?

Theſe riches muſt neceſſarily have been of later date than the time when Pliny made Quintilian the preſent we have mentioned. It is believed, Ant. J. C. that if real, they were the effect of the li- 118. berality of Adrian, when he attained the empire, for he declared himſelf the protector of the learned. Quintilian was then ſeventy-ſix years old. It is not known whether he lived long after, and hiſtory tells us nothing of his death.

II. *Plan and character of Quintilian's rhetorick.*

The rhetorick of Quintilian, intitled, *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, is the moſt compleat antiquity has left us. His deſign in it is to form the perfect orator. He begins with him in his cradle and from his birth, and goes on with him through all the ſtages of life to the grave. This rhetorick conſiſts of twelve books. In the firſt he treats of the manner in which children ſhould be educated from their earlieſt infancy; from whence he proceeds to grammar. The ſecond lays down rules to be obſerved in the ſchools of rhetorick, and ſolves ſeveral queſtions in regard to the art itſelf, as whether it be a ſcience, whether uſeful, &c. The five following books contain the rules of invention and diſpoſition. The eighth, ninth, and tenth books include all that relates to elocution. The eleventh, after a fine chapter upon the manner of ſpeaking with propriety as an orator, *de aptè dicendo*, treats of memory

memory and pronunciation. In the twelfth, which is perhaps the fineſt of them all, Quintilian lays down the perſonal qualities and obligations of an advocate, as ſuch, and with regard to his clients; when he ought to quit his profeſſion; and how employ his retirement.

One of the peculiar characters of Quintilian's rhetorick is, its being wrote with all the art, elegance, & energy of ſtile it is poſſible to imagine, He * knew, that precepts when treated in a naked, ſimple, and ſubtile manner, are only proper to dry up the ſources of the mind, and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to make diſcourſe lean and languid, by depriving it of all grace and beauty, and leaving it nothing but nerves and bones, more like a ſkeleton than a healthy and natural body. † He therefore endeavoured to introduce into his Inſtitutions all the ornament and elegance of which ſuch a work was ſuſceptible; not, as he ſays himſelf, with the view of diſplaying his wit, (for he could have choſen a far more fruitful ſubject for that purpoſe) but that youth, from the attraction of pleaſure, might ap-

* Plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia ſubtilitatis affectatione frangunt atque concidunt quicquid eſt in oratione generoſius, & omnem ſuccum ingenii bibunt, & oſſa detegunt: quæ ut eſſe & aſtringi nervis ſuis debent, ſic corpore operienda ſunt. *Quintil. in Præm.* l. 1.

† In ceteris admiſcere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi ingenii gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) ſed ut hoc ipſo alliceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum quæ neceſſaria ſtudiis arbitrabamur, ſi ducti jucunditate aliqua lectionis, libentiùs diſcerent ea, quorum ne jejuna atque arida traditio averteret animos, & aures (præſertim tam delicatas) raderet, verebamur. *Quintil.* l. 3. c. 1.

ply

ply themſelves with more ardour to the reading and ſtudying of his precepts, which without grace and ornament, could not fail, in offending the delicacy of their ears, to diſguſt alſo their minds. Accordingly we find in his writings a richneſs of thoughts, expreſſions, images, and eſpecially compariſons, which a lively imagination, adorned with a profound knowledge of nature, continually ſupplies, without ever exhauſting itſelf, or falling into diſagreeable repetitions: compariſons, which throw ſuch a fulneſs of light and beauty into precepts, often obſcure and diſguſting in themſelves, as give them a quite different ſpirit and effect.

The * principal end of Quintilian, in his rhetorick, was to oppoſe the bad taſte of eloquence, that prevailed in his time, and revive a manner of thinking and judging more ſound and ſevere, and more conformable to the rules of the elegance of nature. Seneca had contributed more than any other author to vitiate and corrupt the judgment of the Roman youth, and to ſubſtitute in the place of that manly and ſolid eloquence, which had prevailed till his time, the prettineſſes, if I may be allowed to call them ſo, of a ſtile ſurfeited with ornaments, glittering thoughts, quaint conceits, antitheſis, and point. He perceived aright, that his † works would never pleaſe thoſe who admired the

* Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum & omnibus vitiis tractum dicendi genus revocare ad ſeveriora judicia contendo. *Quintil.* l. 10 c. 1.

† Tum autem ſolus hic ferè in manibus adoleſcentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, ſed potioribus præferri non

the antients: for which reaſon he never ceaſed to ſpeak ill of, and diſcredit, them, even the authors who were moſt eſteemed, as Cicero and Virgil. In conſequence of this conduct enſued an almoſt univerſal contempt for them; ſo that when Quintilian began to teach, he found no author but Seneca in the hands of youth. He did not endeavour abſolutely to exclude him; but could not ſuffer his being preferred to writers of incomparably greater merit.

For the reſt we ought not to be ſurprized that this bad taſte made ſo rapid a progreſs in ſo ſhort a time: which is indeed no more than what uſually happens. There wants but a ſingle perſon of a certain character to vitiate all the reſt, and to corrupt the language of a whole nation. Such was Seneca. I omit ſpeaking in this place of the other qualities, for which he was admired: an happy and univerſal genius; a vaſt extent of knowledge; a profound erudition in philoſophy; and a morality abounding with the juſteſt and moſt ſolid principles. To keep within the bounds of my ſubject, he had an eaſy and exuberant wit, a fine and rich imagination, a ſhining facility in his compoſitions, ſolid thoughts, expreſſions curious and full of energy, with happy and ſprightly turns and conceits. But as to his * ſtile it was almoſt vicious in all its parts, and ſo much the more

Quintil. ibid.

non ſinebam, quos ille non deſtiterat inceſſere, cum diverſi ſibi conſcius generis, placere ſe in dicendo poſſe iis, quibus illi placerent, diffideret. *Ibid.*

* Sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosiſſima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis. Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio.

dange-

dangerous, as it was all over luxuriant with charming faults and beautiful defect.

This florid ſtile, this taſte for point and quaintneſs, the more dangerous as the more eaſy and affecting, and therefore the more conformable to the character of youth, ſoon ſeized the whole city. It became * neceſſary that every proof and every period ſhould conclude with ſome glittering thought, or ſingular and ſurprizing turn, to ſtrike the ear, attract particular attention, and in ſome meaſure claim applauſe.

Quintilian believed himſelf obliged to attack this bad taſte with the utmoſt vigour; which he does almoſt throughout his whole work, by laying down, upon the model of the antients, the principles of true and ſolid eloquence. It is not, as he often declares, and as his ſtile ſufficiently ſhews, becauſe he was an enemy to the beauties and graces of diſcourſe. † He confeſſes that Cicero himſelf, to defend his clients, employed not only ſtrong but ſhining arms; and that in the cauſe of Cornelius Balbus, in which

* Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis ſenſus in fine ſermonis feriat aurem. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt, reſpirare ullo loco qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 5.

† Nec fortibus modo ſed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in cauſa eſt Cicero Cornelii: qui non aſſecutus eſſet docendo Judicem tantum, & utiliter demum ac latinè perſpicuèque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem ſuam; non acclamatione tantum, ſed etiam plauſu confiteretur. Sublimitas profectò, & magnificentia, & nitor, & auctoritas expreſſit illum fragorem —— Sed ne cauſæ quidem parum confert hic orationis ornatus. Nam qui libenter audiunt, & magis attendunt, & faciliùs credunt, plerumque ipſa delectatione capiuntur, nonnunquam ipſa admiratione auferuntur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

he was often interrupted by the applauſes and univerſal clapping of hands of his auditors, ſublimity, pomp, and glitter of eloquence occaſioned thoſe loud acclamations. He adds to this motive a very true and judicious reflection, which ſeems to regard only the orator's reputation: this is, that the beauty of ſpeech conduces very much to the ſucceſs of a cauſe, becauſe thoſe who hear with pleaſure are more attentive, and become more inclined to believe what they hear, won over as they are by the charms of diſcourſe, and ſometimes in a manner borne away by the general admiration.

Quintilian therefore does not reject ornaments: but he inſiſts that * eloquence, which is an enemy to paint, and all borrowed graces, admits no dreſs but what is manly, noble and majeſtick. He conſents, that it ſhould ſhine and be lovely, but from health, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, and that it ſhould owe its beauty ſolely to its natural vigour and florid complexion. He carries this principle ſo far as to ſay, † that where he to chuſe, he ſhould prefer the rough, groſs force of the antients, to the ſtudied and effeminate affectation of the moderns. But, ſays he, there is in this point a certain Mean that may be obſerved, in like manner as there is a neatneſs and elegance at

* Sed hic ornatus, (repetam enim) virilis, fortis, & ſanctus ſit: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec fuco eminentem colorem amet: ſanguine & viribus niteat. *Quintil.* ibid.

† Et, ſi neceſſe ſit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam iſtam novam licentiam. Sed patet media quædam via: ſicut in cultu victuque acceſſit aliquis citra reprehenſionem nitor, quem, ſicut poſſumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. *Ibid.* c. 5.

preſent in our tables and furniture, which is ſo far from being reproveable, that we ought, to the utmoſt of our power, to make it become a virtue in the general acceptation.

We find by the little I have related of Quintilian, how greatly uſeful the ſtudy of ſuch a work may be to form the judgment of youth. It is no leſs ſo in reſpect to the manners. He has ſcattered admirable maxims of that nature throughout his rhetorick. I have quoted part of them in my treatiſe upon ſtudy.

But this fund of probity, ſo worthy in itſelf of our higheſt praiſes, is much diſhonoured by our rhetorician's impious flatteries in regard to Domitian, and by his deſpair on the death of his children, that roſe ſo high as to deny providence. This example, and many others of a like nature, inſtruct us how to think of theſe pagan virtues, which were ſolely founded in ſelf-love, and of a religion that afforded no reſource againſt the loſſes and evils to which human life is continually expoſed.

III. *Method of inſtructing youth in Quintilian's time.*

Before I conclude this article upon Quintilian, I ſhall extract from his writings part of what relates to the manner of teaching, as uſed at Rome, in his time.

It appears to have been a very uſual cuſtom at Rome, not to begin the inſtruction of children till they were ſeven years old, becauſe it was believed, that before that age they had neither ſufficient ſtrength of body nor extent of mind for learning. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

Quintilian thinks otherwiſe, and prefers the opinion of Chryſippus, who had compoſed a treatiſe of conſiderable extent, and in great eſteem upon the education of children. Though that philoſopher allowed three years to the nurſes, he was from that age for having them induſtriouſly imbued with good principles of morality, and formed inſenſibly for virtue. Now, ſays Quintilian, if from that early ſtate their manners may be cultivated, what hinders but their minds may alſo be improved? What is a child to do from the time he begins to ſpeak? For undoubtedly he muſt do ſomething. Is it proper to abandon him entirely to the diſcourſes of women and men ſervants? At that age we know he is incapable either of pains or application. Therefore this muſt not be ſo much a ſtudy as a play, whereby theſe firſt years of infancy, till the ſeventh, which are generally loſt, may be uſefully applied in teaching him a thouſand agreeable things within the reach of his capacity.

Ibid. They began with the ſtudy of the Greek language: but that of the Latin ſoon followed; from which time they cultivated both languages with equal application. This is not practiſed with ſufficient regularity amongſt the French, *or indeed the Engliſh*, who ſeldom or never know their native tongue by principles.

When children had learnt to read well, and to write correctly, they were taught both the Latin and Greek grammars.

They had, for this end, private maſters who inſtructed them at home, and others who taught

Ibid. in the publick ſchools. Quintilian examines which of theſe two methods of teaching is the moſt

moſt uſeful; and, after having attentively conſidered the reaſons on both ſides, he declares for the publick ſchools. The chapter wherein he treats this queſtion, is one of the fineſt parts of his work.

Grammar was not conſidered in thoſe times as a frivolous employment of little importance. The Romans ſet an higher value upon it, and applied themſelves to it in a particular manner; convinced, that to propoſe making a progreſs in the ſciences without the aſſiſtance of grammar, is like intending to erect a building without a foundation. They did not dwell upon minute things and ſubtleties, which ſerve only to cramp the genius, and make the mind dry and frigid; they ſtudied its principles, and examined its reaſons, with care; for there is nothing hurtful in grammar, but what is uſeleſs. L. 1. c. 4.

Grammar, that is to ſay, the art of writing and ſpeaking correctly, turns upon four principles: Reaſon, antiquity, authority, and uſe. Quintilian ſays an admirable thing upon this laſt head. This word * *Uſe*, according to him, Ibid.

* Sed huic ipſi neceſſarium eſt judicium, conſtituendumque imprimis id ipſum quid ſit, quod conſuetudinem vocemus. Quæ ſi ex eo quod plures faciunt nomen accipiat, periculoſiſſimum dabit præceptum, non orationi modo, ſed (quod majus eſt) vitæ. Unde enim tantum boni, ut pluribus quæ recta ſunt placeant? Igitur ut velli, & comam in gradus frangere, & in balneis perpotare, quamlibet hæc invaſerint civitatem, non erit conſuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehenſione——ſic, in loquendo, non, ſi quid vitioſè multis inſederit, pro regula ſermonis accipiendum erit.—Ergo conſuetudinem ſermonis, vocabo conſenſum eruditorum; ſicut vivendi, conſenſum bonorum. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

requires an explanation, and it is neceſſary to define preciſely what we underſtand by it. For, if we take it, for what we ſee done by the generality of people, the conſequences would be dangerous, not only in regard to language, but what is more important, in reſpect to manners. For, ſays he, can it be expected amongſt men to ſee the generality follow or uſe what is beſt, and according to rule? He repeats ſeveral cuſtoms very common in his time, which ought not to be conſidered as Uſes but as Abuſes, though generally practiſed by the whole city. We ſhall call *Uſe* therefore, as it relates to language, that which is received by the conſent of ſuch as ſpeak beſt; as, in regard to manners, that is *Uſe*, which has the approbation of the good, and worthy.

L. 1, c. 5. The care of teaching children to read and write correctly, and of learning them the principles of the Greek and Latin tongues, was the firſt but not the chief duty of grammarians. They added to this the reading and explication of the poets, which was of exceeding great extent, and required profound erudition. They did not content themſelves with making children obſerve the propriety and natural ſignification of words; the different feet in the conſtruction of verſes; the turns and expreſſions peculiar to poetry, with the tropes and figures. They applied themſelves principally in ſhewing * what it was neceſſary to remark in the

* Præcipuè verò illa infigat animis, quæ in œconomia virtus, quæ in decoro rerum; quid perſonæ cuique convenerit; quid in ſenſibus laudandum, quid in verbis; ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

œconomy

œconomy or conduct of a piece, and the conſiſtency of its parts and characters; what was fine in the thoughts and diction; and wherefore the ſtile was ſometimes flowing and luxuriant, and ſometimes ſuccinct and conciſe. They made children alſo perfectly acquainted with whatever had any relation, in the poets, either to fable or hiſtory, without however charging their memories with any thing uſeleſs. At leaſt, theſe are the rules preſcribed by Quintilian. He reckons it a * perfection in a grammarian, to be ignorant of certain things, which indeed do not deſerve to be known.

The grammarians began alſo to form youth for compoſition, by making them write deſcriptions, fables, and more extenſive narrations. Ib. c. 6.

They ſometimes made excurſions, of which Quintilian complains, into the province of rhetorick, and made their diſciples compoſe diſcourſes, not only in the demonſtrative kind, which ſeemed abandoned to them, but even in the deliberative. L. 2. c. 1.

At the ſame time that youth learnt grammar, they were alſo taught muſick, geometry, the manner of dancing that improves the perſon and mein, and the art of pronunciation, or of ſpeaking in publick; all which were conſidered as eſſential to the future orator, and always preceded the ſtudy of rhetorick. L. 1. c. 7. &c.

The age for entering upon this ſtudy was not and could not be fixed, becauſe it depended on the progreſs made in the previous ſtudies. What we certainly know of it, is, that young perſons

* Ex quo mihi inter virtutes Grammatici habebitur, aliqua neſcire.

L. 2. c. 2. devoted ſeveral years to it : *Adulti ferè pueri ad hos præceptores transferuntur, & apud eos juvenes etiam facti perſeverant.* We may conjecture, that they generally began rhetorick at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and continued at it till ſeventeen or eighteen. The length of time employed in this ſtudy ought not to ſurprize us, becauſe at Rome as well as Athens, eloquence opening the door to the higheſt dignities of the republick, this art was the principal employment of the youth of both cities. We muſt not forget, that at Rome they ſtudied rhetorick under both Greek and Latin maſters.

The function of a rhetorician included two parts : precepts and declamations.

Quintilian, in ſeveral paſſages of his work, proves the utility and neceſſity of precepts : but he is far from believing, that a ſcrupulous obſervance of them is indiſpenſibly neceſſary in compoſing. Rhetorick would certainly be very eaſy and attainable, if it could be made to conſiſt in a ſmall number of fixed and certain rules ; but its rules change according to time, occaſion, and neceſſity. For which reaſon * the principal requiſite in an orator is judgment, becauſe he is to determine differently his own conduct, according to the exigency of affairs.

The rhetorician dictated the precepts to his diſciples, which muſt have taken up abundance of time : for the rhetoricks were generally very long, as we may conclude from that of Quintilian. It often treated ſubjects of a very abſtracted, and very improper nature in my opi-

* Atque adeo res in oratore præcipue conſilium, quia variè & ad rerum momenta convertitur. *Lib. 2. c. 14.*

nion,

nion, to inſpire a taſte for eloquence. Theſe are that kind of paſſages, which, in regard to youth, I have taken the liberty to retrench in my edition of this rhetorician. He found this cuſtom eſtabliſhed, and could not with prudence depart from it. But he makes his readers good amends, not only by the graces and beauties of ſtile diffuſed through all the paſſages ſuſceptible of them, but ſtill more by the ſolid reflections, with which he unites moſt of his precepts. And, when he explained them to his diſciples, what force and clearneſs muſt his pronunciation have added to them!

To teach youth how to practiſe the precepts he had explained to them, the maſter formed them for compoſition. At firſt they made hiſtorical narrations. They then roſe to praiſing of great men, and blaming ſuch as had rendered themſelves odious by their criminal actions; and ſometimes made parallels and compariſons between them. They exerciſed themſelves alſo in common Places, upon avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices in general: and in certain themes which ſupplied abundant matter for eloquence; for inſtance, whether the country life is preferable to that of the town; whether moſt glory be acquired in the field or at the bar. Lib. 2. c. 4.

Care was alſo taken to exerciſe the memory. Quintilian for this end is for having youth learn by heart ſelect paſſages out of the orators, hiſtorians, and other celebrated authors: the poets were left wholly to the grammarians. * They will Ibid. c. 8.

* Sic aſſueſcent optimis, ſemperque habebunt intra ſe quod imitentur: etiam non ſentientes, formam illam,

will form their taſte early by this means, ſays he; their memory will conſtantly ſupply them with excellent models, which they will imitate even without thinking of it: expreſſions, tours of thoughts and figures, will riſe up with no conſtraint under their pens, and preſent themſelves as treaſures carefully reſerved againſt occaſion.

Lib. 2. c. 4. By theſe different exerciſes, they were inſenſibly led on to the compoſition of diſcourſes in form, called declamations, in which the principal buſineſs of rhetorick conſiſted. Theſe were harangues compoſed upon feigned and imaginary ſubjects, in imitation of thoſe at the bar, and in the publick deliberations. Demetrius Phalereus was the firſt who introduced the uſe of them amongſt the Greeks.

Declamations were inſtituted to prepare youth for the real affairs of the bar, of which they were properly to be a faithful reſemblance: and as long as they kept within theſe juſt bounds, and perfectly imitated the form and ſtile of actual pleadings, they were of great uſe. Accordingly this ſort of compoſitions comprized all the parts and beauties of a coherent diſcourſe.

But this exerciſe, ſo uſeful in itſelf, degenerated ſo much through the ignorance and bad taſte of maſters, that declamations were one of the principal cauſes of the ruin of eloquence. They made choice of fabulous ſubjects, en-

lam, quam mente penitus acceperint, expriment. Abundabunt autem copiâ verborum optimorum, & compoſitione, ac figuris jam non quæſitis, ſed ſponte & ex repoſito velut theſauro ſe offerentibus.

tirely

tirely extraordinary and unnatural, which had no manner of relation to the matters treated at the bar. I ſhall cite a ſingle example of this kind, from which the reſt may be known, There was a law which decreed, that the hands of him who ſtruck or uſed violence to his father ſhould be cut off. *Qui patrem pulſaverit, manus ei præciddntur.* A tyrant, having cauſed a father and his two ſons to be brought to him in the citadel, ordered the ſons to beat the father. One of them, to avoid ſo horrid an impiety, threw himſelf headlong from the works of the citadel: the other, compelled by neceſſity, obeyed the command, and ſtruck his father; he afterwards killed the tyrant, who had made him his friend, and received the reward granted him by the laws in ſuch a caſe. He was however tried by the judges for having uſed violence to his father, and the proſecutor demanded that his hands ſhould be cut off. The father takes upon him his defence. Matters of a much more extravagant nature were treated in declamations. The * ſtile was ſuitable to the choice of the ſubjects, and conſiſted of nothing but ſtiff, far-fetched expreſſion, glittering conceits, points, antitheſes, quibbles and jingle, exceſſive figures, frothy bombaſt, in a word, of

Senec. Declam. 4. l. 9.

* Hæc tolerabilia eſſent, ſi ad eloquentiam ituris viam ſacerent: nunc & rerum tumore, & ſententiarum vaniſſimo ſtrepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, cum in forum venerint, putent ſe in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Et ideo ego adoleſcentulos exiſtimo in ſcholis ſtultiſſimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in uſu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident —— ſed mellitos verborum globulos, & omnia dicta factaque quaſi papavere & ſeſamo ſparſa. *Petron. in init.*

all

all manner of puerile ornaments, crowded together without judgment or choice.

Quintilian oppoſed this bad taſte with the utmoſt zeal, and applied himſelf to reforming declamations, by reducing them to their original deſign, and making them conformable to the practice of the bar. Believing it improper, however, to oppoſe the torrent of cuſtom in a direct manner, he abated of his ardour in ſome reſpects, and gave way to the ſtream in a certain degree. It will not be diſagreeable to ſee in what manner he juſtifies this condeſcenſion himſelf.

" * What then, ſome one may ſay, are " youth never to be ſuffered to treat extraordi- " nary ſubjects? To give a looſe to their geni- " us, to abandon themſelves to the ſallies of a " warm imagination, and ſwell a little in their " ſtile and eloquence? That is undoubtedly " right, ſays Quintilian. But then let them " keep at leaſt to what is juſtly bold and ſwel- " ling; and not give into what is ridiculous " and extravagant to all who have any ſenſe or " diſcernment. In fine, if we muſt have this

* Quid ergo? Nunquam haec ſupra fidem, & poëtica (ut verè dicam) themata juvenibus pertractare permittemus, ut expatientur, & gaudeant materia, & quaſi in corpus cant? Erat optimum. Sed certè ſint grandia & tumida, non ſtulta etiam, & acrioribus oculis intuenti ridicula. Ac, ſi jam cedendum eſt, impleat ſe declamator aliquando, dum ſciat, ut quadrupedes, cum viridi pabulo diſtentæ ſunt, ſanguinis detractione curantur, & ſic ad cibos viribus conſervandis idoneos redeunt: ita ſibi quoque tenuandos adipes, & quicquid humoris corrupti contraxerit, emittendum, ſi eſſe ſanus ac robuſtus volet. Alioqui, tumor ille inanis primo cujuſque veri operis conatu deprehendetur. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 11.

" in-

" indulgence for declaimers, let them ſwell as
" much as they pleaſe, provided they remem-
" ber, that as certain animals are turned looſe
" into the fields to fatten upon the luxuriant
" herbage for a certain time, and afterwards
" are let blood, and return to their uſual meat
" for the preſervation of their vigour; ſo they
" ought to diſtruſt their fulneſs, and retrench
" its vicious ſuperfluities, if they would have
" their productions really ſound and vigorous.
" Otherwiſe, on their firſt attempts in publick,
" they will find that imaginary fulneſs and a-
" bundance no more than empty ſwell and
" tumour."

With ſuch wiſe precautions, declamations might be of great uſe to young perſons. * Perfect diſcourſes are not to be required or expected from them at firſt. A fruitful and abundant genius may be known from a boldneſs and ſpirit in attempting, though not always within the bounds of the Juſt and the True. It is good to have always ſomething to retrench at theſe years. When a young perſon had worked in private upon a ſubject given him to treat, he brought his compoſition to the ſchool, and read it before his companions. The maſter ſometimes, to render them more attentive, and to form their judgment, aſked them what they thought worthy of either praiſe or blame in the piece read to them. He afterwards determined the manner in which they were to judge of it,

* In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi, nec ſperari poteſt: melior autem eſt indoles læta, generoſique conatus, & vel plura juſto concipiens interim ſpiritus. Nec unquam me in his diſcentis annis offendat, ſi quid ſuperfluerit. *Lib. 2. c. 4.*

as

as well in regard to the thoughts, as the expreſſion and tour: he pointed out the paſſages that were either to be made more clear, or to be enlarged or abridged; always ſoftening his criticiſm with an air of kindneſs, and ſometimes even with praiſe, in order to its being the better received. "For my part, ſays * Quintilian, when I obſerved young perſons either "too wanton and luxuriant in their ſtile, or "more bold than ſolid in their thoughts; I "told them, for the preſent I would ſuffer it, "but the time would come when I ſhould not "permit the taking of ſuch liberties. And "thus they were pleaſed with their wit, without "being deceived on the ſide of their judg-"ment."

When the youth, upon the advice of his maſter, had carefully retouched his piece, he prepared to pronounce it in publick; and this was one of the greateſt advantages derived from the ſtudy of rhetorick, and at the ſame time one of the moſt laborious exerciſes for the maſter, as the ſatyriſt obſerves:

Declamare doces, oh ferrea pectora, Vecti!
Juv. Sat. 7.

With iron lungs who teaches to declaim.

The relations and friends of the ſpeakers aſſembled on theſe occaſions, and it was the height of joy to fathers to ſee their ſons ſucceed in

* Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid auſis licentius aut lætius, laudare illud me adhuc; venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem. Ita, & ingenio gaudebant, & judicio non fallebantur. *Ibid.*

theſe declamations, which prepared them for pleading, and enabled them to diſtinguiſh themſelves in time at the bar.

Amongſt the different exerciſes of rhetorick, there is reaſon to be ſurprized, that nothing is ſaid of the reading and explaining good authors, which alone is capable of forming entirely the taſte of youth, and of teaching them to compoſe well. Quintilian confeſſes, that this was not practiſed at the time he began to teach rhetorick. He was ſenſible of all its advantages from the firſt, and exerciſed ſome young perſons in it, whom he inſtructed in private, in conſequence of their parents requeſt: but having found the contrary cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the ſchools, he was afraid to depart from the antient method; ſo much force and dominion has cuſtom over the mind of man! Convinced of the vaſt importance of this practiſe with regard to youth, he recommends it induſtriouſly in his oratorical inſtitutions: and as the grammarian's buſineſs was to explain the poets to them, he is for having the rhetorician do the ſame in reſpect to the orators and hiſtorians, but eſpecially the former, in reading them with the pupils, and making them ſenſible of all their beauties; and he prefers this exerciſe far before * all the precepts of rhetorick, how excellent ſoever they may be; examples being infinitely more improving in his opinion. For, ſays he, what the rhetorician contents himſelf L. 2. c. 5.

* Hoc diligentiæ genus auſim dicere plus collaturum diſcentibus, quam omnes omnium artes.——Nam in omnibus ferè minus valent præcepta, quâm exempla. *Lib. 2. cap. 5.*

with

with teaching, the orator ſets before the eyes. The one points out the road youth are to take, the other in a manner leads them by the hand all the way. *Quæ doctor præcipit, orator oſtendit.*

L. 10. c. 1.

I have perhaps enlarged a little too much upon what relates to this excellent maſter of rhetorick, from whom I have cited many paſſages, for which I ought to make ſome excuſe to the reader. I deſire him therefore to pardon my too manifeſt prejudice and paſſion for Quintilian, who is my favourite author, and whoſe writings have been the ſubjects of my leſſons in the royal college more than forty years. I confeſs, that I am charmed and tranſported whenever I read his books, which always ſeem new to me; and I ſet the higher value upon them, as I know no author more capable of preſerving youth againſt the falſe taſte of eloquence, which ſeems in our days to aſpire at ſuperiority and dominion.

Several Saints have taught rhetorick, and have done abundance of honour to this profeſſion by their profound knowledge, and ſtill more by their ſolid piety: St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Auguſtin, &c. The laſt mentions a celebrated rhetorician, named Victorinus, to whom a ſtatue was erected at Rome, where the learned inſtruction he had given the children of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators had acquired him great reputation. The affecting hiſtory of his converſion, (for he had courageouſly renounced paganiſm for the chriſtian religion) contributed very much to that of St. Auguſtin.

Confeſſ. l. 8. c. 2.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

OF SOPHISTS.

IN the ſubject I am now to treat, I have made great uſe of Mr. Hardion's work upon *the origin and progreſs of rhetorick amongſt the Greeks*, of which only a ſmall part has been publiſhed.

It is hard to give a juſt idea and exact definition of ſophiſts, becauſe their condition and reputation have undergone various changes. It was at firſt a very honourable title. It afterwards became odious and contemptible from the vices of the ſophiſts, and the abuſe they made of their talents. At length the ſame title, in a manner reſtored to its privileges by the merit of thoſe who bore it, continued in honour for a conſiderable ſucceſſion of ages, which did not however prevent many of them, even in thoſe times, from making an ill uſe of it.

The name of Sophiſt amongſt the antients was of very great extent, and was given to all thoſe whoſe minds were adorned with uſeful and polite learning, and who imparted their knowledge to others, either by ſpeech or in writing, upon any ſcience or ſubject whatſoever. Hence we may judge how honourable this character was at firſt, and what reſpect it muſt have drawn upon thoſe, who diſtinguiſhing themſelves by a ſuperiour merit, made it their buſineſs to form mankind for virtue, ſcience, and

Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως. p. 677.

the government of ſtates. The greateſt proof which can be given, ſays Iſocrates, of the ſingular eſtimation the ſophiſts were in, is, that Solon, who was the firſt Athenian called ſophiſt, was judged worthy by our anceſtors of being placed at the head of the republick. Herodotus reckons him amongſt the ſophiſts, whom the opulence of Cræſus, and his love for the polite arts, had brought to his court.

L. 1. c. 29.

When by the defeat of Cræſus, Aſia minor was ſubjected to the arms of the Perſians, moſt of the ſophiſts returned into Greece, and the city of Athens became, under the government of Piſiſtratus and his children, the darling aſylum and reſidence of the learned.

To underſtand aright the advantage they were of to Greece, we have only to remember the important ſervices they rendered Pericles, I mean in regard to policy and government.

Plato in Phædr. p. 269.

All arts, whoſe objects are great and conſiderable, require a genius for diſcuſſion, and a profound knowledge of nature. The mind is thereby accuſtomed to conceive lofty and ſublime thoughts, and inabled to attain its perfection. Pericles united with the moſt happy natural talents this habit of meditating and diſcuſſing. Having fallen into the hands of ANAXAGORAS, who followed this method in every thing, he learnt from him to trace things to their principles, and applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of nature. Hiſtory tells us the uſe he made of it on the occaſion of an eclipſe of the ſun, which had thrown his whole fleet into a conſternation. Anaxagoras, who abounded in this kind of knowledge, made it

Plut. in Pericl. p. 154.

the

the principal ſubject of his converſations with Pericles, who knew how to ſelect from them what was proper, to apply it to rhetorick.

DAMON, who ſucceeded Anaxagoras with Pericles, called himſelf only a muſician, but concealed profound learning under that name and profeſſion. Pericles paſſed whole days with him, either to improve the knowledge he already had, or to acquire more. Damon was the moſt amiable man in the world, and never wanted abundant reſources upon whatever ſubject he was conſulted. He had ſtudied nature profoundly, and the effects of the different kinds of muſick. He compoſed excellently himſelf, and all his works tended to inſpire horror of vice and love of virtue.

Plut. in Pericl. p. 153, 154. Plut. in Lach. p. 180.

Whatever care this ſophiſt had taken to conceal his real profeſſion, his enemies, or rather thoſe of Pericles, perceived at length that his lyre was only aſſumed to diſguiſe him from their ſight. From thenceforth they uſed all means to diſcredit him with the people. They painted him as an ambitious turbulent perſon, who favoured tyranny. The comick poets ſeconded them to the utmoſt of their power, by the ridicule they vented againſt him. He was at length cited to anſwer for himſelf before the judges, and baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. His merit and attachment to Pericles were his only crimes.

That illuſtrious Athenian had alſo another teacher both in eloquence and policy, whoſe name and profeſſion muſt give ſurprize: this was the famous ASPASIA of Miletus. That woman, ſo much celebrated for her beauty, knowledge, and eloquence, was at the ſame

Plut. in Pericl. p. 165. & 169. Athen. l. 13. p. 608. Heſych. in voce Θαργηλία. Suid. ibid.

time of two very different profeſſions, a curtezan and a ſophiſt. Her houſe was an aſſembly of the graveſt perſonages of Athens. She gave her leſſons of eloquence and policy with ſo much politeneſs and modeſty, that the huſbands were not afraid to carry their wives thither, where they might be preſent without ſhame or danger.

In her conduct and ſtudies ſhe followed the example of another famous curtezan of Miletus, named THARGELIA, whoſe talents had acquired her the title of ſophiſt, and whoſe exceeding beauty had raiſed her to the height of grandeur. When Xerxes meditated the conqueſt of Greece, he engaged her to employ the charms of her perſon and wit, to bring over ſeveral of the Grecian cities to his ſide, in which ſhe ſucceeded effectually. She at length ſettled in Theſſaly, where the ſovereign married her, and ſhe lived thirty years upon the throne.

Aſpaſia with abundance of wit and beauty united a profound knowledge of rhetorick and policy. Socrates (a man of what wiſdom and reputation!) boaſted, that it was to her inſtructions he was indebted for all his eloquence, and aſcribed to her the merit of having formed all the great orators of his time. He intimates alſo in Plato, that Aſpaſia had the greateſt ſhare in compoſing the funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in praiſe of the Athenians, who fell in battle for their country, which appeared ſo admirable, that when he had done ſpeaking, the mothers and wives of thoſe he had praiſed, ran to embrace and crown him with wreaths and fillets, as a champion victorious in the games.

Plut. in Menex. p. 236—249

Pericles

Pericles was in no good understanding with his wife, who consented without any difficulty to be divorced from him. After he had married her to another, he took Aspasia in her stead, and lived with her in the most perfect union. She was a long time the mark of the poets satyrick wit, who in their comedies drew her sometimes under the name of Omphale, sometimes of Dejanira, and sometimes under that of Juno. It is not certain whether it was before or after her marriage that she was accused before the judges for the crime of impiety. It is only said, that Pericles saved her with great difficulty, and that he exerted all his credit and eloquence in her defence. Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

It is a pity that Aspasia, dishonoured by the irregularity of her manners, and her profession of a curtezan, the many fine qualities, for which she was otherwise so estimable, and which without that blot, would have made her an infinite honour to her sex. But they prove, however, of what the sex is capable, and how high they can carry the talents of the mind, and even the science of government.

Besides Anaxagoras, Damon, and Aspasia, who had principally instructed Pericles in eloquence and policy, he had also several other sophists of great reputation in his house. This conduct shews the value, which the great men of antiquity set upon, and the use they made of, the sciences, which they were very far from considering as a simple amusement, fit only at most to gratify the curiosity of a speculative mind with rare and abstracted knowledge, but incapable of forming persons for the government of states.

The extraordinary honours paid by all Greece to the ſophiſts, proves how highly they were eſteemed and conſidered. When they arrived at a city, they were met by the people in a body, and their entrance into it had ſomething of the air of a triumph. They had their freedom conferred upon them, were granted all ſorts of immunities, and had ſtatues erected to their honour. Rome erected one to the ſophiſt Proæreſius, who went thither by the order of the emperor Conſtans. Nothing can be imagined more glorious nor more ſoothing than the inſcription of this ſtatue: REGINA RERUM ROMA REGI ELOQUENTIÆ; that is, *Rome the queen of the world to the king of eloquence.*

S. Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Ephes.

Eunapius.

The experience which moſt of the cities had made of the advantage of the ſophiſts to thoſe in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, and eſpecially in the inſtruction of youth, occaſioned their being treated with all theſe ſingular marks of eſteem and diſtinction. Beſides which, it cannot be denied, that many of them had abundance of wit, had acquired a great extent of knowledge by application, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner by their eloquence. The moſt celebrated were Gorgias, Tiſias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who all appeared in the time of Socrates.

GORGIAS is ſirnamed *the Leontine*, becauſe he was a native of Leontium, a city of Sicily. His citizens, who were at war with thoſe of Syracuſe, deputed him as the moſt excellent orator amongſt them, to implore aid of the Athenians, whom he charmed by his eloquence, and obtained from them all he demanded. As it was new to them, they were dazzled with the pomp of his words, thoughts, tour of genius, and figures;

Diod. l. 12. p. 106.

figures; and with thoſe * artfully laboured, and in a manner wire-drawn periods, the members of which, by a ſtudied diſparity and reſemblance, anſwer each other with a nice exactneſs, and form a regular and harmonious cadence, that agreeably ſooths the ear. This kind of *Prettineſſes*, for they cannot well be called by any other name, are pardonable when not too frequent, and are even graceful when uſed with the ſober temper Cicero employs them. But Gorgias abandoned himſelf to them without any reſerve. Every thing glittered in his ſtile, in which art ſeemed to pride itſelf in appearing every where without a veil. He went to diſplay it upon a much larger theatre, that is to ſay, in the Olympick games, and afterwards in the Pythian; where he was equally admired by all Greece. They † loaded him univerſally with honours, which they carried ſo far, as to erect him a ſtatue of gold at Delphos, an honour never before conferred on any man.

Gorgias was the firſt that ventured to boaſt in a numerous aſſembly, that he was ready to diſpute upon any ſubject that ſhould be propoſed: which became very common afterwards. Craſſus had reaſon to treat ſo ſenſeleſs a vanity, or rather, as he calls it himſelf, ſo ridiculous an impudence with deriſion. 1. De orat. n. 103.

He lived to an hundred and ſeven years old, without ever quitting his ſtudies; and upon be- De Senect. n. 13.

* Paria paribus adjuncta, & ſimiliter definita; itemque contrariis relata contraria quæ ſua ſponte, etiamſi id non agas cadunt plerumque numeroſè Gorgias primus invenit, ſed his eſt uſus intemperanter. *Orat.* n. 175.

† Gorgias tantus honos habitus eſt à tota Græcia, ſoli ut ex omnibus, Delphis, non inaurata ſtatua ſed aurea ſtatueretur. 3. *De orat.* n. 127.

ing aſked how he could ſupport ſo long a life, he replied, that age had never given him any reaſon to complain.

Iſocrates, of all his diſciples, was the moſt illuſtrious, and did him the greateſt honour.

Pauſan. l. 6. p. 376. TISIAS was a native of the ſame city as Gorgias, and according to ſome, was joined with him in the deputation to the Athenians. He alſo acquired great eſtimation. Lyſias, a famous orator, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, was one of his diſciples.

Plut. in Menon. p. 91. PROTAGORAS, of Abdera in Thrace, was cotemporary with Gorgias, and perhaps even a little prior to him. He was alſo of the ſame taſte, and had, like him, a very great reputation for eloquence. He taught it during forty years, and gained by his profeſſion more conſiderable ſums than Phidias, or ten as excellent ſtatuaries as him, could ever have been able to have acquired. So Socrates ſays in Plato.

L. 5 c. 10. Aulus Gellius relates a very ſingular law-ſuit between this Protagoras and one of his diſciples. The latter, whoſe name was Evalthus, paſſionately deſirous of making himſelf a celebrated advocate, applies to Protagoras. The price was agreed on; for this kind of maſters always begun with that; and the rhetorician engaged to inſtruct Evalthus in the moſt ſecret myſteries of eloquence. The diſciple, on his ſide, pays down directly half the ſum agreed on, and according to articles, refers the payment of the other half, till after the carrying of the firſt cauſe he ſhould plead. Protagoras, without loſs of time, diſplays all his precepts, and after a great number of leſſons, pretends that he had made his ſcholar capable of ſhining at the bar, and

and preſſes him to make an eſſay of his ability. Evalthus, whether out of timidity or ſome other reaſon, always defers it, and obſtinately declines exerciſing his new talent. The rhetorician, weary of his continued refuſal, has recourſe to the judges. Then, ſure of the victory, whatever ſentence they might paſs, he inſults the young man. For, ſays he, if the decree be in my favour, it will oblige you to pay me: if againſt me, you carry your firſt cauſe, and are my debtor according to our agreement. He believed the argument unanſwerable. Evalthus was in no concern, and replied immediately, I accept the alternative. If judgment goes for me, you loſe your cauſe: if for you, I am diſcharged by our articles; I loſe my firſt cauſe, and from thenceforth the obligation ceaſes. The judges were poſed by this captious alternative, and left the caſe undecided: in all probability Protagoras repented his having inſtructed his diſciple ſo well.

PRODICUS of the iſle of Cea, one of the Cyclades, the cotemporary with Democritus and Gorgias, and diſciple of Protagoras, was one of the moſt celebrated ſophiſts of Greece. He flouriſhed in the 86th olympiad, and amongſt others had Euripides, Socrates, Theramenes, and Iſocrates, for his diſciples. Suidas.

He did not diſdain to teach in private at Athens, though he was there in the character of ambaſſador from his country, which had already conferred ſeveral other publick employments upon him; and though the great approbation, which his harangue had obtained him from the Athenians upon the day of his publick audience, ſeemed to oppoſe his deſcending

to uſe his talent upon leſs occaſions, Plato inſinuates, that the deſire of gain induced Prodicus to keep a ſchool. He accordingly got conſiderably by that buſineſs. He went from city to city to diſplay his eloquence, and though he did it in a mercenary manner, he, however, received great honour at Thebes, and ſtill greater at Lacedæmon.

His declamation *of fifty drachmas* is very much ſpoken of, which was ſo called, as ſome of the learned tell us, from each auditor's being obliged to pay him that ſum, amounting to about five and twenty livres French. This was paying very dear for hearing an harangue. Others underſtand it of a lecture, and not an harangue. Socrates, in one of Plato's dialogues, complains with his air of ridicule, of not being able to diſcourſe well upon the nature of nouns, becauſe he had not heard the * leſſon of fifty drachmas, which according to Prodicus revealed the whole myſtery. And indeed this ſophiſt had diſcourſes of all prices from two oboli to fifty drachmas. Could any thing be more fordid?

About twenty-two ſhillings

In Cratyl. p. 384.

Id. in Axioch. p. 306

The fable of Prodicus, wherein he ſuppoſes that virtue and pleaſure, in the form of women, preſent themſelves to Hercules, and endeavour, in emulation of each other, to allure him, has been juſtly extolled by many authors. Xenophon has explained it with great extent and beauty; yet he ſays, that it was much longer and more adorned in the piece of Prodicus upon Hercules. Lucian has imitated it ingeniouſly.

L. 2 Memorab. p. 737—740. Cic. off. l. 1 n. 118.

* τὴν πεντηκονταδραχμον ἐπίδειξιν.

The

The Athenians put our ſophiſt to death, as a corrupter of youth. It is probable that he was accuſed of teaching his diſciples irreligion. Suid.

Theſe ſophiſts did not ſupport their reputation long. I have ſhewn, in the life of Socrates, in what manner that great man, who believed it incumbent on him as a good citizen to undeceive the publick in regard to them, ſucceeded in making them known for what they were, by taking off the maſk from their faults. He interrogated them in publick converſations, with an air of ſimplicity and almoſt ignorance, which concealed infinite art, as one who deſired to be inſtructed and improved by their doctrine; and leading them on from propoſition to propoſition, of which they foreſaw neither the concluſion nor conſequences, he made them fall into abſurdities, which ſhewed in the moſt ſenſible and diſtinct manner the falſity of all their reaſoning.

Two things contributed principally to their loſing almoſt univerſally the opinion of the publick. They ſet themſelves up for perfect orators, who alone poſſeſſed the talent of ſpeaking, and had carried eloquence to the utmoſt heights of which it was capable. They valued themſelves upon ſpeaking extemporaneouſly, and without the leaſt preparation, upon any ſubject that could be propoſed to them. They boaſted their being capable of giving their auditors whatever impreſſions they pleaſed; * of teaching how to make the worſt of cauſes good,

* Docere ſe profitebantur, arrogantibus ſanè verbis, quemadmodum cauſa inferior (ite enim loquebantur) dicendo fieri ſuperior poſſet. *In Brut.* n. 30.

and

and of making * ſmall things ſeem great, and great ſmall, by dint of eloquence. This Plato tells us of Gorgias and Tiſias. They were equally ready to maintain either ſide of any ſubject whatſoever. They held the True for nothing in their diſcourſes, and made the tour of their eloquence ſubſervient not to demonſtrate Truth, and make it lovely, but as a mere wit-ſkirmiſh, and to give the Falſe the colours of the True, and the True thoſe of the Falſe.

The great theatre in which they endeavoured to ſhine, was the Olympick games. There, as I have already ſaid, in the preſence of an infinite number of auditors aſſembled from all parts of Greece, they affectedly diſplayed whatever is moſt pompous in eloquence. With little or no regard for the ſolidity of things, they employed whatever is moſt glittering and moſt capable of dazzling the mind, propoſing no other ends to themſelves than to pleaſe the multitude, and obtain their ſuffrages. And this did not fail to enſue, their diſcourſes being attended with univerſal applauſe. I need not obſerve how far ſuch an affectation might carry them, and how capable it was of ruining the taſte for good and ſolid eloquence.

This Socrates inceſſantly repreſented to the Athenians, as we find in ſeveral of Plato's dialogues, wherein he introduces him ſpeaking upon this ſubject. For we muſt not imagine, when he attacks and condemns rhetorick, as he often does, that he means the true and ſound

* *Τὰ σμικρὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα σμικρὰ φαίνεθαι ποιεῖν δὰ ῥώμην λόγε. In Phædro.* p. 267.

rheto-

rhetorick. He valued it as it deſerves, but could not ſuffer the infamous abuſe which the ſophiſts made of it, nor applaud, with the ignorant multitude, diſcourſes, that had neither ſolidity nor any real beauty in them. For, inſtead of dreſſing eloquence like a majeſtick queen, in the noble and ſplendid ornaments that become her dignity, but have nothing affected or unnatural in them; the ſophiſts ſet her off in a foreign, ſoft, effeminate garb, like an harlot, who derives all her graces from paint, has only borrowed beauties, and at moſt knows only how to charm the ears with the ſound of a ſweet harmonious voice. This is the idea which Quintilian and St. Jerom, conformably to Socrates, give us of the eloquence of the ſophiſts, and I imagine the reader will not be offended if I repeat their own terms in this place.

Quapropter eloquentiam, licet hanc (ut ſentio enim dicam) libidinoſam reſupina voluptate auditoria probent, nullam eſſe exiſtimabo, quæ ne minimum quidem in ſe indicium maſculini & incorrupti, ne dicam gravis & ſancti viri, oſtendet——Quaſi ad Athenæum & ad auditoria convenitur, ut plauſus circumſtantium ſuſcitentur, ut oratio Rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacio, quaſi quædam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæſitura, & in modum pſalterii & tibiæ dulce canentis ſenſus demulceat audientium. Quintil. l. 5. c. 13.

S. Hieron. Præf. in l. 3. Comment. ad Galat.

Perſons of good ſenſe, from the remonſtrances of Socrates, ſoon perceived the falſity of this eloquence, and abated very much of the eſteem they had conceived for the ſophiſts.

A ſecond reaſon entirely loſt them the people's opinion: this was the defects and vices remarkable in their conduct. They were proud, haughty

haughty and arrogant, full of contempt for others and of eſteem for themſelves. They conceived themſelves the only perſons that underſtood, and were capable of teaching youth, the principles of rhetorick and philoſophy in a proper manner. They promiſed parents, with an air of aſſurance or rather impudence, entirely to reform the corrupt manners of their children, and to give them, in a ſhort ſpace of time, all the knowledge that was neceſſary for filling the moſt important offices of the State.

They did not do all this for nothing, neither did they pique themſelves upon generoſity. Their prevailing vice was avarice, and an inſatiable deſire of amaſſing riches. What was ſmartly ſaid of Apollonius the ſtoick * philoſopher, whom the Emperor Antoninus cauſed to come from the Eaſt, to be præceptor to Marcus Aurelius whom he had adopted, may be applied to them. He brought ſeveral other philoſophers with him to Rome, *all Argonauts*, ſaid a Cynick of thoſe times, *and well inclined to go in queſt of the golden fleece*. The ſophiſts ſold their inſtructions at a very great price, and as they had found means to bait the parents with magnificent promiſes, and the world was infatuated with their knowledge and merit, they

Lucian.

Demonax.

* *It was this Apollonius, who, when he arrived at Rome, refuſed to go to the palace, ſaying, it was the pupil's buſineſs to come to the maſter. Antoninus only laughed at this fooliſh pride and fantaſtick oddity of the ſtoick's humour, who had been well ſatisfied to come from the Eaſt to Rome, and when at Rome would not go from his houſe to the palace, and ſent Mar. Aurelius to hear him at home. That prince continued to go thither to receive his leſſons, even after he roſe to the imperial dignity.*

extorted

extorted boldly from them, and made the moſt of the warm deſire they expreſſed for the good education of their children. Protagoras * took of his diſciples for teaching them rhetorick an hundred minæ, or ten thouſand drachmas, that is to ſay, five thouſand livres. Gorgias, according to Diodorus Siculus and Suidas, had the ſame ſum. Demoſthenes paid as much for his inſtruction to the rhetorician Iſæus. *About 240 l. ſterling.* Diod. l. 12. Plut. in Iſæo. p. 106.

The perfect diſintereſtedneſs of Socrates, who had neither inheritance nor income, expoſed ſtill more by the contraſte, the ſordid avidity of the ſophiſts, and was a continual cenſure of their conduct, much ſtronger than the ſharpeſt reproaches he could have made them.

Notwithſtanding theſe faults, which were perſonal to many of them, for ſome were not guilty of them, it muſt be confeſſed that the ſophiſts rendered the publick great ſervices in the advancement of learning and the ſciences, which were in a manner depoſited with them for many ages.

Many cities of Greece and Aſia, to which people went from different countries, to imbibe as at their ſource all the ſciences, have produced at all times ſophiſts of great reputation. To abridge and conclude this article, I ſhall ſpeak only of one of theſe ſophiſts, the celebrated Libanius.

Libanius was of a good family of Antioch. He ſtudied at Athens, where he remained about four years. He was appointed by the proconſul to teach rhetorick there at the age of five and twenty; but this nomination did not take place. He was a very zealous defend- Lib. in vit. ſua. Ant. J. C. 339.

* A Protagora decem milibus denariorum didiciſſe artem quam edidit, Evathlus dicitur. *Quint.* l. 3. c. 1.

er of paganiſm, which afterwards recommended him to the particular conſideration of Julian the Apoſtate. He acquired great eſteem by his wit and eloquence.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf principally at Conſtantinople and Antioch. He was profeſſor in the firſt of theſe cities for ſome years at different times, where he contracted a particular friendſhip with St. Baſil. That ſaint, before he went to Athens, came to Conſtantinople: and as that city abounded then with excellent philoſophers and ſophiſts, the vivacity and vaſt extent of his genius ſoon made him acquainted with whatever was beſt in their learning. Libanius, whoſe ſcholar he ſeems to have made himſelf, had an high regard for him young as he was, upon account of the gravity of his manners, worthy the wiſdom of old age; which, ſays he, I admired the more, as he lived in a city where the allurements of pleaſure were endleſs. When he was informed that this ſaint, notwithſtanding his great reputation, had retired from the world, all pagan as he was, he could not but admire ſo generous an action, which equalled all that was greateſt ever done by his philoſophers. In all St. Baſil's letters to him, we ſee the ſingular eſteem he had for his works, and his affection for his perſon. He directed all the youth of Cappadocia, who deſired to improve themſelves in eloquence, to him, as the moſt excellent maſter of rhetorick then in being, and they were received by him with particular diſtinction. Libanius ſays a thing very much for his honour in relation to one of theſe young men, whoſe circumſtances were very narrow: that is, that he did not conſider his pupils riches but their good-will; that if he found a young man poor, who

St. Greg. Naz. orat. 20. p. 325. Ant. J. C. 351.

Epiſt. Liban.

who profeſſed a great deſire to learn, he preferred him, without heſitating, to the richeſt of his diſciples; and * that he was very well pleaſed, when thoſe who had nothing to give, were earneſt to receive his inſtruction. He adds, that it had not been his good fortune to meet with ſuch maſters: And indeed diſintereſtedneſs was not the virtue of the ſophiſts. Thoſe whoſe profeſſion it is to teach, know that the ſoil moſt fruitful in merit is poverty.

He writes to Themiſtius, a celebrated ſophiſt, whom his talents and wiſdom had raiſed to the higheſt employments in the ſtate, in a manner that ſhews Libanius had noble ſentiments, and the love of mankind at heart. "I do not "congratulate you, ſays he, upon the govern-"ment of the city's being conferred on you; "but I congratulate the city upon having made "choice of you for ſo important a truſt. You "want no new dignities, but the city is in "great want of ſuch a governor as you."

It were to be wiſhed, that Libanius had been as irreproachable in regard to his manners, as he was eſtimable for his wit and eloquence He is alſo reproached with having been too full of eſteem for himſelf, and too great an admirer of his own works. This ought not to aſtoniſh us much. We might almoſt ſay, that vanity was the virtue of paganiſm.

Libanius paſſed the laſt thirty-five years of his life at Antioch, from the year 354, to about 390, and profeſſed rhetorick there with great ſucceſs. Chriſtianity ſupplied him alſo with another illuſtrious diſciple in the perſon of St. Chryſoſtom. His mother, who ſpared nothing for his education, ſent him to Libanius's ſchool,

* Ἀρχεῖ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ δοῦναι, το βουληθῆναι λαβεῖν.

the

the moſt excellent and the moſt famous ſophiſt, who then taught at Antioch, in order to his forming himſelf under ſo great a maſter. His works, from whence he had been denominated *Golden Mouth*, ſhew the progreſs he made there. At firſt he frequented the bar, pleaded ſome cauſes, and declaimed in publick. He ſent one of theſe diſcourſes in praiſe of the Emperors to Libanius, who, in thanking him for it, tells him, that himſelf and ſeveral other perſons of learning to whom he had ſhewed it, admired it. An author aſſures us, that ſome of his friends aſking this ſophiſt when he was near death, whom he ſhould approve of to ſucceed him as profeſſor, he replied, that he ſhould have choſe our Saint, if the chriſtians had not engroſſed him: but his pupil had very different views.

Iſid. Pelus. l. 2. Ep. 42.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

If we may judge of the maſter by his ſcholars, and of his merit by their reputation, the two diſciples of Libanius, whom I have now cited, might alone do him great honour. And indeed he paſſed for a great orator in the opinion of all the world. Eunapius ſays, that all his terms are curious and elegant, that whatever he writes has a peculiar ſweetneſs and inſinuating grace, with a ſprightlineſs and gaiety, that ſerves him inſtead of the ſalt of the antients.

Eunap. c. 14.

Libanius has left us a multitude of writings, which conſiſt of panegyricks, declamations, and letters: Of all his works, his letters have ever been the moſt eſteemed.

The End of the Second Volume.

SPECIAL 93-B
4260
v.2